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SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:52 p.m.	6:05 p.m.
Tel Aviv	5:10 p.m.	6:27 p.m.
Haifa	6:01 p.m.	6:55 p.m.

Jerusalem: 13 Oppenheimer St., Tel. 02-225803
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Hospital strikers, lashed by Herzog, go back to work

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

The 9,000 striking clerks and maintenance workers at Kupat Holim Clalit hospitals decided last night to return to work immediately after receiving a sharp rebuke from President Herzog.

The strikers, who made no headway in their wage demands after five days off the job, agreed to cease all sanctions while a Histadrut committee studies their demands and makes its recommendations within two weeks.

The strikers had rejected the same proposal three days before, but changed their minds after the Treasury and the Histadrut refused to accede to their demand for a 14 per cent wage increase, and after the president criticized them.

Herzog, whose verbal attack on the striking nurses four months ago induced them to return to work, said that the Kupat Holim Clalit workers' actions were "insufferable irresponsibility" and "a desecration of the strike weapon."

The cabinet will on Sunday discuss the health care situation, including a threat by government hospital clerical and maintenance workers to launch a strike on Monday.

Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino is expected to argue that she will not bear sole responsibility for the crisis since she does not have the power to resolve it. Finance Minister Moshe Nissim said yesterday on television's Erev Hadash news programme that legislation should be passed to ban strikes in the health services.

Nissim repeated his offer to reconsider the cuts in the number of nursing positions, but accused the Health Ministry of setting the wrong priorities and failing to streamline the health system. "We do not tell the Health Ministry where to slash," he asserted.

The finance minister hinted that the crisis could be alleviated by introducing user fees in the health system - a move the health minister adamantly opposes.

Meanwhile, the national assembly of the government hospital administrative and maintenance workers decided last night to "begin striking" on Monday at 6 a.m. Nissim, they said, had refused to equalize their salaries with those of their counterparts in Kupat Holim hospitals, and had refused to protect them from dismissals under the economic reform programme.

"We are tired of taking home NIS 450 to 500 a month," they said.

The government hospital nurses have also threatened to strike beginning on Monday, because the government has so far failed to implement an agreement it signed four months ago.

The 24-hour strike by government hospital doctors, which ended this morning, did not pose a serious threat, because the doctors maintained a Shabbat schedule and emergency cases were treated. The doctors said they were not applying sanctions for salary increases, but to press demands for a separate hospital authority to run the health system.

Begun's release confirmed

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

Prisoner of Zion Josef Begun is being freed. Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov said in Moscow yesterday.

Also to be freed is dissident psychiatrist Anatoly Koryagin.

Gerasimov told reporters that Begun, 54, imprisoned since 1983 for anti-state activities, had been pardoned by Kremlin decree and might be released as soon as today.

Gerasimov also confirmed the release of Koryagin, whose return home from prison in Kiev was reported earlier yesterday by a Dutch human rights group.

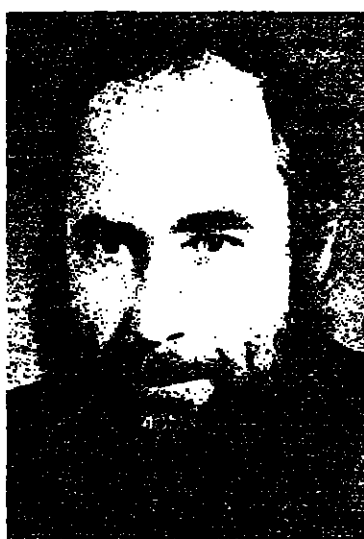
Neither of the two men had been included in a mass pardon of political prisoners earlier this month.

Gerasimov's statement ended several days of confusion about the fate of Begun, whose release was prematurely announced by another Soviet official at the weekend.

Gerasimov yesterday granted Israel Radio an impromptu telephone interview, the first of its kind, after an Israel Radio reporter reached him via the international operator in Moscow.

Asked if Begun's release was an attempt to satisfy Israeli conditions for an international peace conference on the Middle East, Gerasimov said: "But you don't want it. I understand there was a quarrel in Washington yesterday [between Premier Shamir and his hosts] about this conference idea. You prefer bilateral talks."

Israel Radio's Gideon Remez pressed Gerasimov, saying that Foreign Minister Peres has said that if the Soviets allowed the Jews to leave, Israel would agree to such a conference. Gerasimov replied: "Somebody in your government says, 'Let my people go.' The problem is - we are letting the people go, but not all of them want to go." He said that the Soviets had approved 500 exit visas in January. When



An undated file photo of Begun (AFP photo)

asked about an Israeli list of thousands of such requests by Jews, he said: "Send me the list."

Gerasimov added: "We can begin to talk about better relations between the USSR and Israel if and when Israel stops aggression against the Arab states. You don't see it in this light, but we do."

Gerasimov also noted that Soviet TV had recently broadcast *Fiddler on the Roof* for the second time. He said this was proof that the Soviets were not trying to suppress Jewish culture.

The radio's Remez noted that Gerasimov did not stop to consult his

superiors before granting the interview, and did not ask to hear the questions in advance.

Lazar Lubarsky of the Begun subcommittee of the Public Council for Soviet Jewry in Tel Aviv last night spoke with Inna Begun, wife of Josef Begun. Inna Begun said she had received a phone call from the Soviet Interior Ministry telling her that her husband would be released this morning.

Inna intends to travel with her son Boris to Chistopol to meet Josef as he comes out of jail.

After the anguish and uncertainty of the past week, her attitude is: "Let's wait and see him before rejoicing!"

Lubarsky, who has known Begun for 20 years, told *The Jerusalem Post* that Begun would be released. He said he thought the couple would be allowed to come to Israel. The Soviet authorities would not have made the announcement if they didn't mean to let both go, he said.

Lubarsky last saw Josef Begun on December 19, 1976, when Begun accompanied him to the airport on his way to Israel.

Lubarsky does not believe this is a new era for Soviet Jewry.

He said the Soviets only do things in their own interests - not in the interests of the Jews, and certainly not for humanitarian reasons.

"We must continue to fight for Jewish rights in the Soviet Union - both for aliyah and for the right of those remaining in the Soviet Union to live Jewish lives."

Gorbachev in threat to quit over reforms

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

MOSCOW (Reuters). - Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev told top Soviet journalists last week that he would have to step down if resistance blocked his reform programme, the official weekly *Moscow News* said in his latest edition.

Moscow News editor-in-chief Yegor Yakovlev was reporting on a six-hour meeting of senior Soviet media representatives with Gorbachev last Friday. He said Gorbachev spoke for nearly an hour and 15 journalists also addressed the meeting.

Making a resignation threat public is unprecedented in the history of the Soviet regime, Amnon Sela, professor of international relations and Russian studies at the Hebrew University told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

"If you study the wording carefully, Gorbachev did not necessarily offer to resign. But the very mention of the possibility of resignation in public is startling."

Gorbachev was showing considerable self-confidence and, at the same time, handing a weapon to his enemies, Sela said.

The public never knew about the struggles between Leon Trotsky and Josef Stalin, Sela noted. Gorbachev has brought public opinion into the picture for the first time.

Yakovlev said it was disclosed during the discussions that last month's plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee was postponed three times before it finally opened on January 27. It had origi-



Gorbachev, during a visit this week to a factory in Riga. (AFP)

nally been scheduled for last autumn.

The plenum was devoted to an assessment of the social and economic reforms introduced by Gorbachev and to the sensitive issue of party personnel policy, which has met with resistance from officials hesitant to change long-standing practices.

Citing his notes from the meeting, Yakovlev quoted Gorbachev as saying: "If the plenum had convened and arrived at the conclusion that reconstruction is not justified and should be rejected, I would have said, 'I cannot work otherwise.'"

"Reconstruction" is the term used by the Kremlin to describe Gorbachev's reform campaign. Reports on the plenum have made it clear that a number of speakers voiced

Maccabi beat Milano

Post Sports Staff

Brilliant individual efforts by every member of the Maccabi Tel Aviv squad gave the Israeli champions an incredible 94-79 victory over European Cup basketball favourites Tracer Milan in Italy last night.

After sending the Italians reeling

with a fine first half display that left them eight points in front at 42-34, Maccabi tore into Milano without mercy during a four-minute 17-5 blitz at the beginning of the second half.

Maccabi built up an astounding 20

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Shultz: Split with Shamir 'exaggerated'

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. - As Prime Minister Shamir wound up his talks in Washington yesterday, Secretary of State George Shultz said that Jordan was expected to reject Shamir's proposal for a "mini-international conference" on the Middle East consisting of Israel, Jordan, West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, Egypt and the U.S.

At the same time, U.S. and Israeli officials disclosed that the designation of Israel as a major non-Nato ally could result in an additional \$100 million in U.S. defence-related contracts for Israel in the coming year alone.

Shamir, who was due to fly to Los Angeles this morning for the weekend, once again rejected an international conference as envisaged by Jordan - one including the Soviet Union and other permanent

members of the UN Security Council. "We don't need another UN," he told a National Press Club luncheon.

But Shultz, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, again took a more open approach toward an international conference.

While insisting that the differences between the administration and Shamir on this issue have been "exaggerated" in the news media, the secretary said: "We think we ought to keep open the possibility that one approach to direct negotiations may be through the device of some kind of international conference."

He cited Shamir's remarks to Israeli reporters on Wednesday about a mini-international conference. "Well," Shultz said, "that's an international conference. Now that's not what King Hussein has in mind."

The secretary said that Hussein

Peres: Don't say 'no'

Foreign Minister Peres said yesterday that "whoever says 'No' to an international conference on the Middle East kills any chance of peace."

Peres was speaking during a tour in the north.

Peres's statements were echoed in yesterday's meeting of the Labour Party bureau when members lashed out at the Likud positions on an international peace conference while stressing that they did not wish to personally attack Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir during his visit to the U.S. (Earlier report - page 4)

was looking for "a broader forum of legitimacy" for direct negotiations with Israel. "King Hussein has been struggling with that," Shultz said, "and we've been struggling with him, and sympathetically with him. And so that's what we're looking

for."

Shamir, who met late yesterday afternoon at the White House with Vice President George Bush, appeared pleased by the outcome of his discussions in Washington, which opened Tuesday. At the Press Club, he appealed to Hussein to join in direct negotiations with Israel "here in Washington or even at Camp David."

The prime minister, who met with President Reagan on Wednesday, began the day yesterday with a meeting with Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger at the Pentagon. (See separate story on Lavi).

Pentagon spokesman Robert Sims later said that both men "expressed appreciation and gratitude for work on strategic cooperation between the two countries." He described the U.S.-Israeli military relationship as being "strong and a source of mutual pride."

Another subject discussed during the Shamir-Weinberger meeting, Sims said, was terrorism. Weinberger noted the "importance of intelligence in identifying terrorists and potential terrorists, and in making the cost of terrorism - to the terrorists - very high," Sims added.

Sims, in response to questioning, cited the "dramatic increase" in U.S. defence purchases from Israel in recent years. He said that Israel was likely to win more contracts to provide goods and services to the U.S. armed forces stationed in Europe.

He said that both Shamir and Weinberger were "most pleased about the fact that we are instituting" strategic cooperation by extending "Nato cooperative research and development programme funding to include" Israel and other major non-Nato allies - among them Japan, Egypt, Australia and South Korea.

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Weinberger 'is telling half the truth'

ANALYSIS
Hirsh Goodman

U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger's attack on the development of the Lavi fighter did not come as a surprise here yesterday. "We would have been surprised had he said anything else," one top defence official commented to *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

Weinberger has been the Israeli fighter's arch opponent since the inception of the programme. He is against \$300 million in American aid money being spent in Israel, and his subordinates at the Pentagon have done everything possible to shoot the plane out of the sky.

They held back on contracts at crucial stages of the development process; they were tardy in approving export licences for key Lavi technology ordered from American manufacturers; they produced cost estimates 60 per cent higher than those of the Israel Aircraft Indus-

On the thirtieth day after the passing of my wife, an angelic soul,
our dearly beloved mother, grandmother

Dr. Honoris Causa

RENA MALKA ZIMAND זימנד
née Deutsch

there will be a memorial service on Friday, February 27, 1987
(28 Shvat 5747) at 11:00 a.m. at the Mount of Olives cemetery,
above the Jericho road.

A bus for those wishing to attend will leave at 9:30 a.m. from the Tel Aviv North
Railway Station, Rehov Arlosoroff, stopping at 9:45 a.m. at Ben-Gurion Airport
(near the Remetam offices).

Details of the tombstone unveiling, which will take place at a later date,
will be given in a separate notice.

David Zimand
Henri and Anda Zimand and children
Fani and Alexander Yeshurun and children

White House 'won't comment' on Reagan contradictions

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — The White House yesterday refused comment on reports that President Reagan, under questioning by investigators, changed his story about when he first authorized secret arms sales to Iran.

The White House also tried to dampen speculation that Reagan's chief of staff, Donald Regan, will soon resign.

According to both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post*, Reagan first told a commission probing the Iran affair that he had given advance approval to some 1985 Israeli arms shipments to Tehran.

But during a subsequent interview, Reagan told the panel he had not approved the shipments until

after they had taken place, the newspapers said yesterday.

The papers said they received their information from informed sources, who were not otherwise identified.

White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater, who was peppered with questions about the reports at his daily news briefing, repeatedly refused to discuss them.

"This is the same as all the other questions on Iran. We'll wait until after the Tower Commission report (is submitted) to discuss them," Fitzwater said.

The commission, appointed by Reagan and headed by former senator John Tower, also refused to discuss the newspaper reports.

The panel is investigating the sec-

ret arms sales to Iran and the diversion of profits to U.S.-backed rebels in Nicaragua. It is scheduled to deliver its report on February 26. The White House has promised to promptly release it to the public.

Fitzwater said he had no indication that embattled White House Chief of Staff Regan planned to resign anytime soon.

Regan's performance has been sharply criticized by key members of the U.S. Congress and leaders of the president's Republican Party.

Fitzwater told reporters he had not asked Reagan about the status of his chief of staff and said: "The president will tell me if there are any personnel changes. I don't have to ask."

Druse overcome Shi'ites, hold most of West Beirut

BEIRUT (AP). — Druse militiamen routed the Shi'ite Amal militia from most of West Beirut's Hamra commercial district yesterday after five days of street battles in which at least 100 people were killed, police said.

They said 375 people were wounded as Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party, backed by Lebanese Communist Party gunmen, wrested control of Beirut's Moslem sector from Justice Minister Nabih Berri's Amal.

"The PSP now controls about 75 per cent of West Beirut," said a police spokesman who declined to be named. "It was divided 60-40 in Amal's favour before the fighting broke out on Sunday."

Police said Amal fighters are holding out in three besieged pockets in Hamra.

They also maintained strong defences around the unfinished Murr Tower skyscraper, their main sniping stronghold that commands most of the Green Line that divides West Beirut from the Christian sector.

Some of the fiercest fighting raged around the seven-storey Commodore hotel, which grenade-hurling Druse warriors captured from Amal in a seven-hour battle Wednesday.

During the night, gunmen robbed the hotel's last two guests, American Moslem envoys Mohammed Mehdi and Dale Shaleen. They had been trapped in the hotel by the fighting while on a mission seeking to free foreign hostages.

Mehdi told the Associated Press the marauders took \$1,400 from them at gunpoint.

Both emissaries of the New York-

based National Council for Islamic Affairs hurriedly packed and left the hotel.

Militiamen, meanwhile, looted all they could carry including typewriters, vacuum cleaners, linen and cutlery.

The two emissaries later crossed the Green Line to take an overnight ferry from the Christian port of Jounieh, north of Beirut, to Larnaca, Cyprus.

There was no way amid the chaos to ascertain whether any of the hostages or missing Anglican Church envoy Terry Waite were hurt in the fighting. But they reportedly are held on the outskirts of the city.

Residents said tank fire was heaviest around Amal strongholds in Tariq al-Jideh and near the Soviet embassy in Mazzraa.

One resident said Druse tanks guarding the Soviet embassy fired throughout the night and five shells hit his building in the crossfire. "Our neighbour, a 70-year-old man, had a heart attack. We could not get him to hospital and he died," the resident said.

Jumblatt told the radio he and Communist Leader George Hawi would leave for Damascus, where Amal leader Nabih Berri lives.

"The most important thing is that I do not want to see a recurrence of the 1976 tragedy," Jumblatt said, referring to reports of impending Syrian intervention in the fighting.

Syrian troops intervened in Lebanon in 1976 when leftists headed by his father Kamal Jumblatt seemed set to win power in alliance with the PLO.

Iran, Iraq call halt to 'war of cities'

BAHRAIN (Reuters). — Iran and Iraq yesterday observed a halt to air, missile and artillery attacks on each other's cities after a blitz in which thousands of civilians have been killed this year.

Baghdad said it would suspend air raids on targets inside Iran for two weeks, while Tehran said it would stop reprisal attacks on Iraqi cities.

But both sides in the Gulf war, now in its seventh year, left open the possibility that they would resume bombardments of towns and cities if the other broke the unofficial moratorium.

Diplomats in Baghdad said they thought the Iraqi move was unlikely to lead to an end to the war and would probably meet the same fate as an abortive 1985 Iraqi peace initiative.

They said recent reports suggested that Iran was massing troops for a fresh ground offensive. They also noted that Tehran had not backed away from its objective of overthrowing Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Iranian and Iraqi forces pounded each other's cities and towns until just before the 0900 GMT halt yesterday.

Ciskeian police thwart palace attack

JOHANNESBURG (AP). — Armed men attacked the presidential palace in the black homeland of Ciskei early yesterday but were repulsed by security guards. President Lennox Sebe and his family were safe, Ciskei Radio reported.

Authorities said one attacker was killed, and the leader of the assault, a former Ciskeian military officer, was captured.

Ciskei's chief government spokesman, Headman Sontunzi, blamed

the assault on a rival black homeland, Transkei, that has been feuding with Ciskei for months. Ciskei announced Wednesday that all Transkeians in its territory must leave by August 31.

Transkei's foreign minister, Caleb Songca, later said his government knew nothing about the attack on the palace.

Sontunzi said the attackers were led by Maj. Nkosinathi Sandile, formerly Ciskei's military security chief.

Haughey to govern Ireland without parliament majority

DUBLIN (AP). — Charles Haughey hammered Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald in Ireland's general election for a dramatic comeback, but his party conceded yesterday it had fallen short of an absolute majority in parliament.

There was speculation that Haughey's government would be short-lived and that another election was possible this year.

Irish state radio predicted Haughey's Fianna Fail party would win 81 or 82 seats in the 166-member Dail, or parliament.

"It looks that way," Fianna Fail spokesman P.J. Mara agreed.

Early during the count Fianna Fail looked set for a slim majority, Mara told reporters, "but a few of them slipped away during the night."

Radio analyst Donal Kelly said an 81-seat outcome suggested Ireland was in for "another period of political instability."

It was a major setback for Irish hopes of a strong government to tackle record debt and unemployment, and a personal blow for Haughey, who had staked considerable prestige on winning a strong majority.

With 81 seats, Haughey can form a minority government and count on backing from at least three independent Dail members, but they are likely to extract a price for their support and hinder Haughey's scope for tough action.

Many analysts saw it as a near replay of 1982, when Haughey took office with 81 seats and was forced to woo independents with expensive economic commitments. That government lasted just nine months until Fitzgerald's Fine Gael party was elected.

Mara said Haughey could last no longer this time because the position is more fragmented than in 1982.

France urges vigilance as trial to open

PARIS (Reuters). — The French government, citing terrorist threats, yesterday called on the public to step up vigilance in advance of the trial of a jailed Lebanese guerrilla suspect, which begins on Monday.

Denis Baudouin, spokesman for Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, told journalists the government had received a number of threats and was taking some of them seriously after cross-checking with its partners in the European Community.

"As a result, security precautions have been considerably strengthened," Baudouin said, adding that there was no cause for undue concern.

He said police were stepping up identity checks, notably outside cinemas and department stores, and urged individuals who felt they could be targets to take their own security precautions.

Earlier this week, officials said that more than 1,000 extra police had been deployed in Paris ahead of the trial of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, 35, the suspected head of the leftist Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Forces.

Abdallah, serving a four-year sentence for conspiracy, arms possession and using false papers, goes on trial Monday charged with complicity in the 1982 murders of a U.S. defence attaché, Charles Ray, and an Israeli diplomat, Ya'acov Bar-Simanov, as well as a 1984 attempt to kill a U.S. consular officer in Strasbourg. Robert Onan Homme.

DETENTIONS. — The number of people detained for anti-government activities or "security-related" incidents in South Korea last year totalled 7,250, according to official figures released yesterday in Seoul.

Reagan's choice for navy secretary thinks women spoil men for combat

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan has nominated Assistant Defence Secretary James Webb, 40, to replace outspoken John Lehman as navy secretary. Webb has written that women have no place at Annapolis, the naval academy.

The decorated ex-marine, lawyer and author fills the conservative Lehman would like a ditto mark.

"Webb is not bombastic, but he certainly will not be afraid to ruffle feathers," one Defence Department official said.

In 1979 Webb wrote an article in *The Washingtonian* magazine that said women are ruining the military academies by poisoning their ability to train men for combat.

"There is a place for women in our

military, but not in combat. And their presence at institutions dedicated to the preparation of men for combat command is poisoning that preparation," he wrote in the article, entitled "Women Can't Fight."

Although the Senate is controlled by democrats, it is expected to quickly approve Webb, who won the Navy Cross and Silver Star for valor while serving as a marine combat officer during the Vietnam War.

Lehman, a naval reserve pilot who resigned last Tuesday to seek a job in private industry, has run the service like a fiefdom for six years, pumping a large chunk of Reagan's \$1 trillion-plus military buildup into producing a 600-ship navy which is to be completed in fiscal 1989. (Reuters, AP)

U.S. Jews weigh Israel-S. Africa arms deals

NEW YORK (JTA). — American Jewish leaders have begun to grapple with the uncomfortable issue of Israel's military trade with South Africa, a subject obscured by strict secrecy, distortion by Israel's enemies and by the minuscule amount of factual information actually available.

Few governments like to discuss their military exchanges with the regime of South Africa, despite evidence that military exchanges with western countries continue on some levels while having tapered off in

past months. Israel is no different. With the government facing intense pressure from Congress and from American Jews to cease military trade with South Africa, there is little said publicly on the exchanges.

A number of American Jewish leaders have taken an active role in the anti-apartheid movement in this country, on the picket lines and in divestment campaigns. Some even risked arrest for civil disobedience at South African installations throughout the country. But many have chosen to remain silent — or at least discreet — about Israel's military trade with South Africa.

"The inconsistency is troubling American Jews," Allan Kagedan, an American Jewish Committee policy analyst said. "On the one hand, they

are anti-apartheid morally. On the other hand, they support Israel which sells arms to South Africa. But no one is willing to publicly defend Israeli arms sales to South Africa."

A sampling by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of American Jewish leaders revealed a real reluctance to discuss openly what they know of military trade between Israel and South Africa. But the same people indicated that they have told Israeli officials privately that they should not ignore the growing anti-apartheid sentiment in the U.S. and should not lag too far behind the pro-sanctions mood of Western governments.

Jewish leaders here have emphasized the primacy of Israel's security, survival and sovereignty to decide with whom and what it trades.

However, they also feel it is incumbent upon them to let Israel know that its South African policy is affecting them negatively in their efforts to deal with other domestic and foreign issues.

A pervasive argument by some Jewish leaders against the trade is that Israel's military relations with Pretoria are increasingly straining Jewish-black relations in this country and providing an excellent excuse for black African countries not to resume relations with Israel.

In addition, American Jewish officials are sensitive to the singling out of Israel for criticism when other Western, Arab and Soviet-bloc countries provide far more valuable and critical support for the South African regime.

On April 1, the State Department is to submit a report to President Reagan containing an account of countries receiving U.S. aid which also supply military material to South Africa. These countries could risk forfeiting the U.S. aid, in Israel's case \$1.8 billion.

One Israeli expert on South Africa, who asked not to be identified, said the congressional legislation has turned Israel's military relations with South Africa from a moral issue to a realpolitik issue.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, a Jewish Committee director of international affairs, said: "I hope the report to the president will give an overview which will talk about the UK, Soviet Union, Japan and others to keep it in perspective. Israel is not the primary culprit in sustaining South Africa."

Within Israel, the policy on military trade with South Africa has been under review for about six months. Although a small group of intellectuals headed by Yossi Beilin (Labour), political director-general of the Foreign Ministry, argue the trade is counterproductive for foreign policy, the Israeli expert said the majority still advocates continuing the military trade, arguing that it brings in much needed foreign capital and provides valuable research and development opportunities for Israel. Many also fear that severing relations with Pretoria could threaten the security of South Africa's 119,000 Jews.

In Florida, Herman Nickel, former U.S. ambassador to South Africa, urged the U.S. Jewish community this week to work closely with and provide financial support to South African Jewish individuals and orga-



FOREIGN BRIEFS

Soviet TV bares Chernobyl mistakes

MOSCOW (AP). — Soviet television on Wednesday broadcast its longest-ever look at Chernobyl, accusing local officials of having masked the scale of the nuclear power plant disaster and of waiting nine days before issuing instructions to the population.

The documentary, titled *Warning*, gave a minute-by-minute account of the April 26 explosion and fire that ripped through Chernobyl's no. 4 reactor and spewed a cloud of radioactivity that spread over much of Europe and eventually around the world.

State-run television has broadcast frequent reports on measures taken to cope with the Chernobyl accident, but the 80-minute *Warning* show Wednesday evening was the most complete look to date.

Polish sanctions lifted by Reagan

WASHINGTON. — President Reagan yesterday lifted remaining sanctions imposed on Poland following its crackdown on the Solidarity labour movement, but he said the Polish government needs to institute further reforms.

"There is still far to go," Reagan said in a written statement. Reagan noted that Polish labour and religious leaders had urged the lifting of sanctions, as had America's allies. (Reuters)

Couple wins kissing contest after 58-hour battle

DALLAS (AP). — Pete and Maryellen Polichetti beat five other kissing couples and won a trip to Hawaii by smooching for 58 hours.

"I think it helped that we were married and knew what each other could do," said one of the Polichettis.

The Great American Kiss-Off, which began at 8 p.m. Valentine's Day, February 14, ended Tuesday when the last contending couple, Dennis Saucedo and Stacy Thompson, decided they'd had enough, said Barbara Hyer, a spokeswoman for the Harvey Hotel, the event's sponsor.

American 'wall runner' convicted in Berlin

EAST BERLIN (Reuters). — A 69-year-old American was given an 18-month suspended jail term by an East German court yesterday for climbing on the Berlin Wall last November and knocking out chunks with a hammer.

John Runnings, from Seattle in Washington State, was seized by communist border guards on November 18, after he fell off the tubular crown of the four-metre high white concrete wall during his protest.

It was the first time Runnings had been brought to court despite having been detained numerous times for demonstrating on the wall, leading him to be nicknamed the "wall runner."

Polisario reports 50 Moroccan dead in new fighting

ALGIERS (Reuters). — Polisario rebels said yesterday they killed 50 Moroccan soldiers in an attack at dawn Wednesday on four bases near the Mauritanian frontier in the western Sahara. It was the second day of fighting in the area reported by Polisario, whose statements are distributed through the official Algerian news agency APS.

Arafat's aide leaves Jordan after five-day visit

AMMAN (Reuters). — Khalid al-Wazir, chief military aide to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, flew from Amman to Cairo after his first visit to Jordan since being expelled by the government last July. Palestinian sources said yesterday, Wazir, also known as Abu Jihad, arrived last Saturday for the first meeting since 1985 of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian committee providing financial aid to Palestinians under Israeli occupation.

Jordan, North Yemen agree on Mideast, Gulf war

AMMAN (Reuters). — Jordan and North Yemen, in a joint statement published yesterday, said an international conference was needed to achieve Middle East peace and expressed support for Iraq in its war with Iran. The statement followed a three-day visit to Amman by North Yemeni deputy prime minister Abdul-Karim Al-Iryani to attend sessions of a joint committee seeking to develop relations between the two countries.

West German comedian under police protection

BONN (AP). — A West German television comedian who sparked a diplomatic row with a spoof on Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has been placed under police protection after telephone threats against him, state police said yesterday. Rudi Carrell, whose Sunday evening show appeared to show women throwing their underwear at Khomeini's feet, was given a police guard starting Wednesday, said Detlef Ehrhke, spokesman for the lower Saxony state police.

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Tehiya Party: Time has come for early elections

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Several recent public opinion polls are proudly displayed on the bulletin board in the Tehiya Party's Knesset room. One has MK Geula Cohen placed third in a poll that asked women, "Who would you want to be if you weren't yourself?" The others show that if elections were held today, Tehiya would make sizeable gains, perhaps doubling in strength.

"I can smell elections in the air," Cohen told *The Jerusalem Post*. "We've been trying to persuade the Likud, and even some colleagues in Labour, that the time has come."

Tehiya last week officially decided to support early elections. Political observers noted that Tehiya and Labour could possibly form an "alliance of strange bedfellows" to push for early elections.

The Labour bloc, which ranges from the extreme left rightwings, commands 59 seats in the Knesset. Tehiya's five could give Labour the majority it needs.

MK Rafael Eitan has been for new elections since the day the last ones were held. "The 1984 elections gave us a bad government," he told *The Post*. "It can't function. It's not a government at all, just a huge coalition."

Cohen says that in the next elections Tehiya will "probably gain at least two more Knesset seats." Eitan says that the latest poll shows his party gaining 8 per cent of the vote, thus doubling its strength.

"But it's not for ourselves that we want new elections," Cohen is quick to point out. "We want elections to be held on the international conference and settlement in Judea and Samaria. I've told the Labourites that they should wage an election campaign on the slogan 'don't let peace be destroyed.'"

"Elections have never been held on this central issue and it's about time that people be given a chance to make a clear-cut decision on the matter."

Eitan believes Labour will push the matter of the international conference to the forefront of their election campaign "because they haven't got anything else." What's more, he adds, "in my opinion the public will punish them for that."

Cohen is not alarmed by the possibility that the Labour-affiliated bloc will achieve a majority and set up the next government. "Then we will have a big and strong opposition," she says, "and Labour won't be able to do anything to the settlements in Judea and Samaria."

Both Eitan and Cohen believe that, once the government falls, both Labour and Likud will support early elections. Both believe, as do politicians across the spectrum, that there is no possibility of setting up a narrow coalition.

Tehiya's support is crucial to avert the Labour nightmare of a Likud-led transition government ruling for a year-and-a-half until the scheduled date for elections in November 1988.

With MK Meir Kahane's support, the Likud could theoretically establish a coalition with the religious parties that would command a 61-seat majority. "But we wouldn't — and we shouldn't — be able to live with what Kahane will demand of us," says Cohen.

Cohen believes that Tehiya's additional votes will come from the "more sophisticated" Likud voters, and perhaps from Labour too. "We won't sweep over the Herut voters who aspire for a strong leader and support Arik Sharon. Those people might go over to Kahane. We have voters who have a critical, intelligent view of things."

Cohen believes that an "irrational element" pushed the "floating votes" into creating a deadlock in the 1984 elections. "We have a national unity government instead of the strong leader people are really looking for," she says.

Tehiya itself has been torn recently by internal rivalries, especially between Cohen and relative newcomer Eitan. But Cohen says she is not afraid of strife fragmenting the party before elections are held. She points to the pictures of David Ben-Gurion, Ze'ev Jabotinsky and Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook which adorn the party's Knesset room.

"If these people can live in peace on the wall," she says, "then surely we can too."

When asked the same question, Eitan says simply: "I don't know, I really don't know."

Sniffing around town

It is entirely possible to tour this city with only a nose for a guide. Smells, stinks, fragrances, perfumes, odours, aromas, rancid and sweet: on a warm day, when a light breeze carries the smells outdoors

and up and down the streets and boulevards, the scents of life fill the air. The woodworking district, off Herzl, with its warm thick smells of fresh and dry wood being cut and

splintered; The rotting stinks of the closed butcher shops off the Carmel Market; The fresh cut flowers and hot roasted nuts and deep bouquets of oranges and other citrus in season inside the market.

The damp forest smells of florists. The acrid odours of dry cleaners, beauty parlours and espresso machines on Ibn Gvirol; The spilt beer and dropped-plate smells of the joints on Dizengoff near the Agam Circus;

The feline stands, bus exhaust and perspiration of the central bus station; The back doors of restaurants, the front doors of patisseries, the stairwells of apartment houses where behind closed doors something is cooking;

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv

Robert Rosenberg

The sudden wad of guava coming from a tree in a garden on Gordon; And the rich perfume of a jasmine shrub, gone wild in an empty lot on Rothschild.

The thick damp dreamy smells of carpets brought from distant lands and piled chest high in a shop on Ben-Yehuda;

The rustling iron and sweet greasy smells of the tool shops, sheet metal stores, and shops selling used car parts on Hamaagar;

The quiet smell of decomposing lilies in a pond in the middle of Gan Meir;

The fresh croissants of a new fashionable spot on upper Dizengoff; The fur smells in the lobby of the Mann Auditorium on a rainy night;

The garbage smells when there's no wind to move the stench; The rose garden that hides behind a wall on a one-way street parallel to Dizengoff not far from Nordau;

The hotel lobby smells of air conditioning and wealth that escape through revolving doors towards Rehov Hayarkon;

The frightening underground smells of tunnels and parking lots; The claustrophobic sweaty smell on an overcrowded bus;

The sea, its rough, salty taste whispering every other smell, underlying its eternal presence as the only permanent fixture of the city landscape.

There are CAR\$



Seven new cars for seven old ministers, two angry mayors, one principle, a compromise and a truckload of tax money. Democracy was at its best the last couple of weeks in Israel, with our elected officials alternately accusing, refusing and excusing news of abuse and misuse of public dues.

The tone was set when the Members of Knesset voted themselves a healthy salary raise. Naturally, nobody else thought it was a good idea. Then, Israelis got their Irish up when pricey new Volkswagens were purchased for seven Cabinet ministers, and another fancy hot rod ordered by the mayor of Ramat Gan. But Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel, who must have been a taxpayer once, announced — and this was news — that he was not interested in such privileges, and he would continue driving around in his beat up old '78. Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek got into the act, too. Reluctantly accepting that he had to replace his city-owned wheels, he insisted on the most austere of options, a wee Renault 5, getting good mileage out of the tenet that good things come in small packages. Problem is, big mayors can't fit into small cars, and so qualifying principle with compromise, he accepted a bigger-than-a-breadbox, cheaper-than-a-Volvo Peugeot, setting an example so that others might squirm in the lap of luxury.

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DEBATE OF THE WEEK

Have Soviet Jews a right to 'drop out'?

By DVORAH GETZLER
Post Knesset Reporter

Every Jew who leaves the Soviet Union on an Israeli visa and "drops out," opting to go instead to the U.S., is "a traitor... a cheat... he has exploited us and we must fight him!" the Likud's Dov Shilansky raged from the Knesset podium earlier this week, during a lengthy debate on Soviet Jewry.

What is under discussion, Shilansky insisted, is not an exodus of refugees, but the "repatriation" of Jews to their homeland. He had nothing but scorn for Diaspora organizations that aided the drop-outs, those "traitors," whose treachery had given such groups "a new lease of life. These organizations thrive on refugees."

At the other end of the spectrum, the Citizens Rights Movement's Dedi Zucker was troubled by the apparent conflict between humanist and Zionist approaches to the problem of the drop-outs. "The first would commit us to fighting for the right to free emigration; the second commits us to fighting solely for the right to repatriation, the right to return to the homeland."

Both approaches could be reconciled by an agreement with the Diaspora organizations whereby Soviet Jews would be brought directly to Israel, but for an initial period would have the status of refugees, thus retaining their right to immigrate freely to other countries.

Zucker, however, was on his own. All other speakers were determined that Israel was the only homeland for the Russian Jews, no matter what difficulties this might cause individuals.

The Alignment's Dov Ben-Meir summed up: "The ingathering of the exiles has always been a cruel, hard process. Every *aliya* has suffered. The crisis of this wave of immigrants is that we have to tell them: 'It is to Israel that you must come, and directly.'"

His colleague Nava Arad expressed concern for the welfare of all Soviet Jews. An international conference in the Middle East which included the Soviet Union would, she believed, lead to a general improvement in the fate of Soviet Jewry. It would facilitate *aliya* and might also lead to an improvement in the lot of those Jews who opt to remain in the Soviet Union and want to live a Jewish life there.

It was, predictably, on the issue of the conference that the House was sharply divided, with most Alignment speakers following the lead of Foreign Minister Peres. But for the Likud, the conference spelled utter disaster.

How, the Likud's Benny Shalita wanted to know, could the Soviet Union, "this ugly and oppressive totalitarian country, dress itself up in frock coat and top hat and ask to join an international conference in which it would seek to force Israel to Canossa and beyond, to the end of the

Jewish state. Even if it could be linked to an opening of the gates of the Soviet Union, it cannot be allowed."

The divisions were less sharply felt in assessing the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's political moves. Some, like the Alignment's Yitzhak Arzi, saw them as genuine internal changes dictated by internal needs. Others, like the National Religious Party's Avner Shaki, believed that "the new leaders want to put on a good front for the West."

It was precisely because the Soviet Union was so sensitive to hostile public opinion in the West that those who argued the case of Soviet Jewry "pianissimo, in whispers," were wrong, Shaki said. "Only shouting and stormy demonstrations will, with God's help, have an effect on the Soviet Union."

And even though that day has not yet dawned, there is, according to Arzi and other Alignment speakers, already a fight on. "The first immigrant hasn't yet shown up, but we are already presented with the spectacle of institutional fighting." The Absorption Ministry had already presented a detailed plan for 10,000 immigrants a year, said Arzi. More recently, and in its footsteps, the Jewish Agency, too, had put forward a rival plan. But that body had already made a dismal failure of encouraging Western immigration. "How dare it meddle now in the problems of a possible Soviet *aliya*?" he asked.

President impressed by Israel Radio

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Chaim Herzog, who frequently chastises the media for their "unbalanced depiction" of Israeli reality, had only praise for Israel Radio yesterday, during a tour of its ultra-modern, \$3 million news facility in Jerusalem.

"There is no public demand for competing radio networks," Herzog told radio director Gideon Lev-Ary, "because Israel Radio is good."

Broadcasting Authority chairman Micha Yinnon told the president that he had sent letters to 119 MKs (Meir Kahane was the only non-recipient) asking them to oppose the initiative of Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein to allow the establishment of 10 commercial stations around the country.

Yinnon said that Rubinstein was trying to thwart Israel Radio's local Eilat broadcasts, so they would not constitute a precedent in the battle over local commercial radio.

Herzog was highly impressed with the new radio news department in Romema's Rehov Tora Mi'Zion, which took five years to plan and build and has "the most advanced equipment in the world," according to Lev-Ary.

Herzog, asking about transmitters, disclosed that he had listened to the regular Israel Radio news magazine on medium wave and learned about the latest increase in the Cost-of-Living Index while on a plane between Fiji and Hongkong during his recent visit to the Far East.

Some 150 radio staffers moved to the new facility in January, leaving behind mainly non-news staffers in the quaint and cramped radio headquarters on Rehov Helene Hamal-ka.

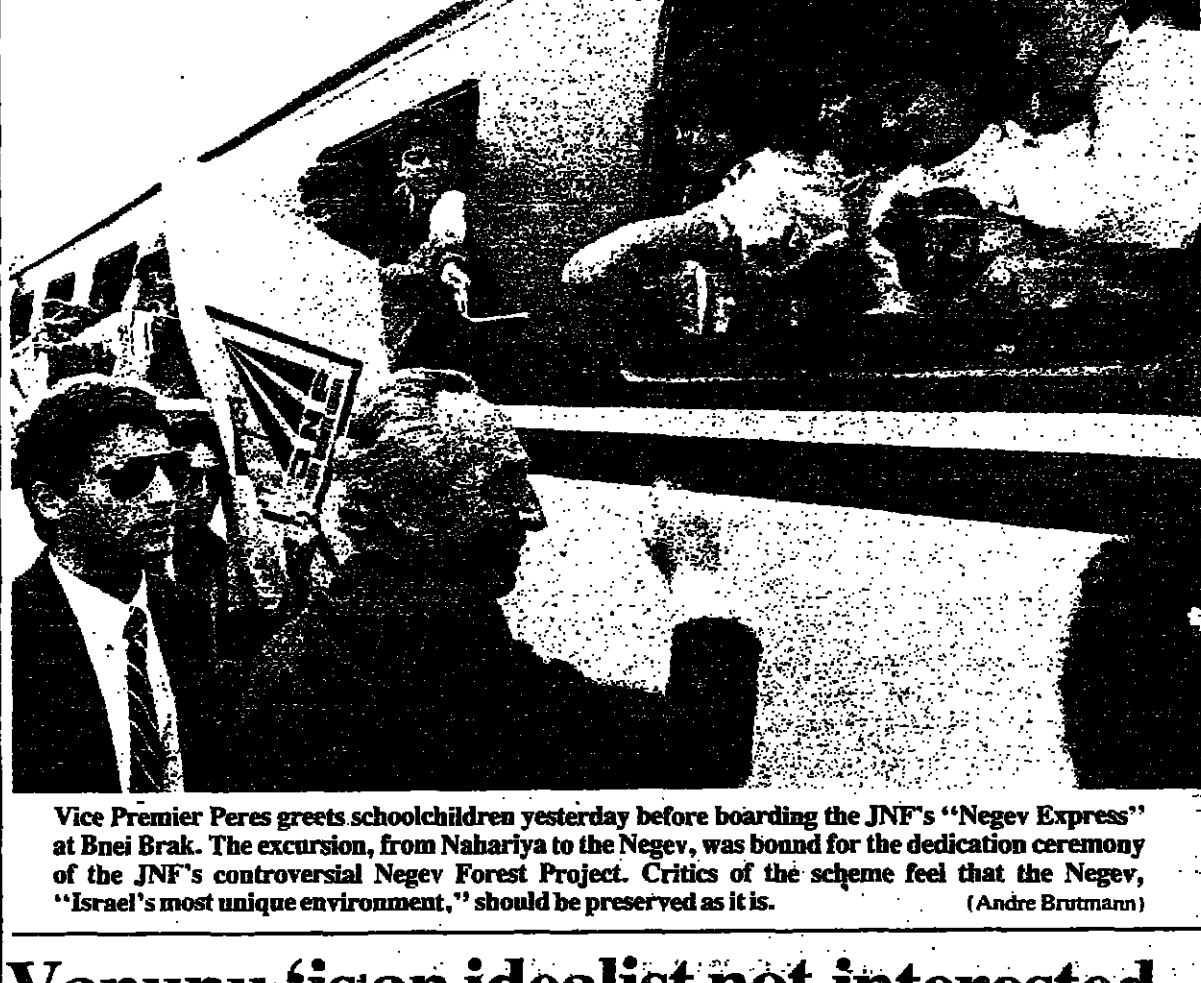
Court rejects appeal by Grunzweig killer

The Supreme Court yesterday rejected an appeal by Yona Avrushmi, convicted of killing Emil Grunzweig, and upheld the sentence of life imprisonment handed down by the Jerusalem District Court in January 1985.

Avrushmi was convicted of throwing a grenade at a "Peace Now" demonstration opposite the Prime Minister's Office in February 1983, killing Grunzweig and wounding nine others. (Itim)

Funeral of Rabbi Ehrlich

Rabbi Yehuda Ehrlich, a worthy of Tel Aviv and a former member of the Council of Torah Sages, was buried yesterday at the Nahalat Yitzhak cemetery in Tel Aviv. (Itim)



Vice Premier Peres greets schoolchildren yesterday before boarding the JNF's "Negev Express" at Bnei Brak. The excursion, from Nahariya to the Negev, was bound for the dedication ceremony of the JNF's controversial Negev Forest Project. Critics of the scheme feel that the Negev, "Israel's most unique environment," should be preserved as it is. (Andre Bruttman)

Vanunu 'is an idealist not interested in money,' say two of his brothers

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Mordechai Vanunu is not a fool, and he did not reveal Israel's alleged nuclear secrets for the money, say his brothers Asher and Meir.

Asher, who has lived in Holland for the past eight months, and Meir, who lives in Boston, came to Israel recently to stand by their brother, who they believe has been unfairly portrayed in the press.

"They've made him out to be Public Enemy No. 1," they told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. "He's been portrayed as dumb, a money-grabber, basically unstable. The newspapers have played into the hands of the Shin Bet, which has led an organized campaign of incitement

against Motti. Now, anybody who considers himself half a patriot wants to see him hang."

"Motti was never interested in money. He could have got much more, plus security, if he had gone to a hostile government."

"Who would risk his life for \$200,000-\$300,000?"

"They said he was a fool, but he amazed professors abroad who couldn't understand how a lowly technician could know so much about nuclear processes. He finished university, even though most of his time was taken up with political activities for the underprivileged."

To prove their point, Meir and Asher produced letters of praise and documents from the IDF, from Ben-

Gurion University, where Vanunu studied, and from the Nuclear Research Centre in Dimona.

"Motti is an idealist. He reached the point where he couldn't bring himself to harm a fly. He has always been a man of conscience. Even in the army, in the Engineering Corps, he sometimes refused to participate in operations, preferring to peel potatoes in the kitchen."

"A book by Shai Feldman on nuclear deterrence as a rallying point for doves made a big impression on him. This, and the Lebanon War, prompted Motti to act."

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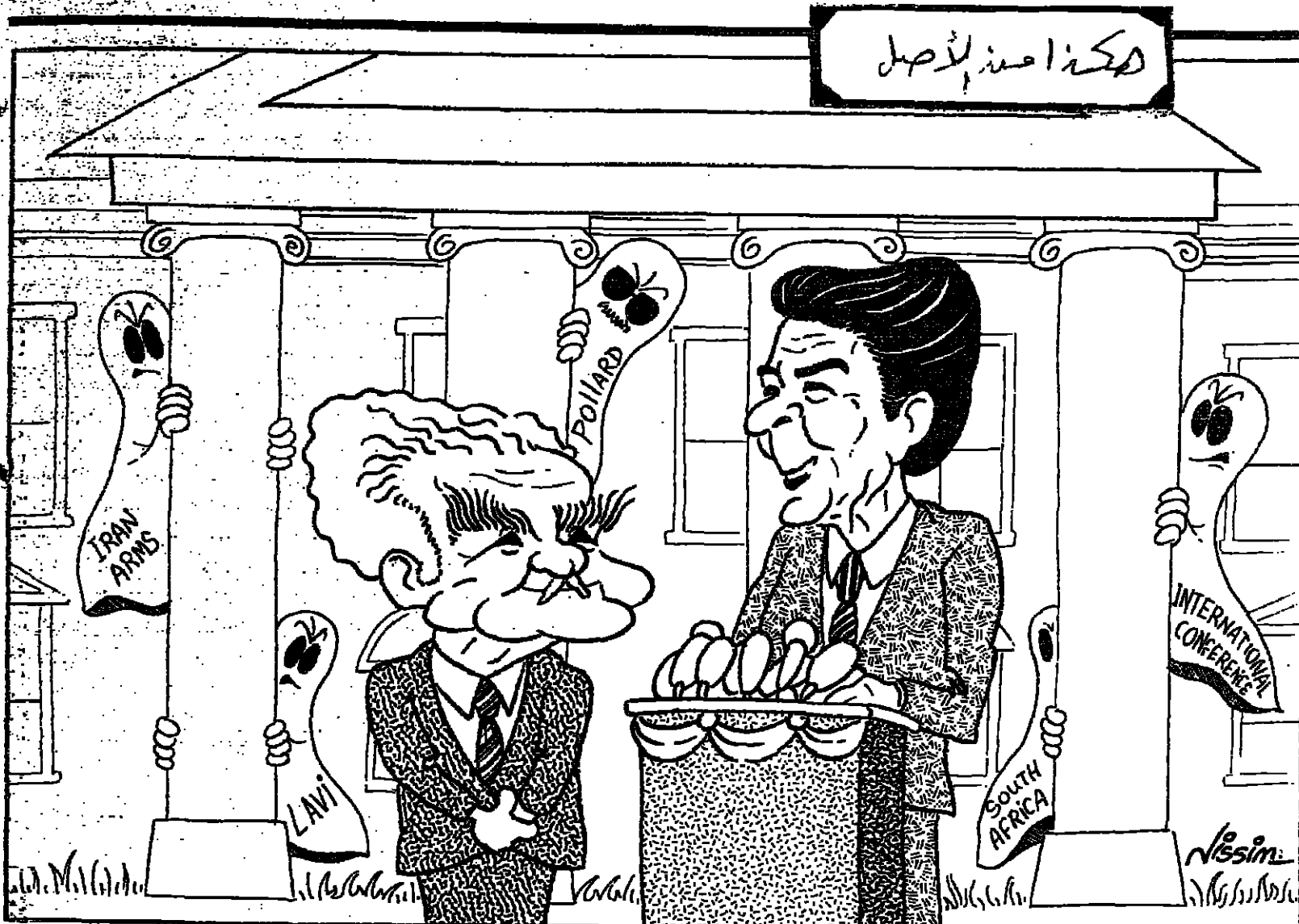
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TWO ISSUES—a proposed international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the "drop-out" rate of Jews allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union—dominated Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's Washington visit this week.

At this stage, the two matters are still in the hypothetical realm because the prospects of actually convening an international conference by seeing large-scale Jewish emigration remain dim. But in both his public and private comments, the prime minister made clear that he was determined to maintain a firm and principled stance on these issues, despite the potentially adverse consequences in domestic Israeli politics or on Israeli relations with the United States government and American Jewry.

Thus, Shamir rejected any notion whatsoever of an international conference. "I will not deny that I am strongly opposed to this invention of an international conference of peace," he said. "It will not bring peace to our area. It will not serve the cause of peace." He described it as a "Soviet-inspired notion" supported by radical Arab nations.

President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, in contrast, refused to rule out an international conference as a possible way to obtain direct bilateral Arab-Israeli negotiations. A senior administration official, sounding very much like Vice Prime Minister Shimon Peres, insisted that any international conference would have to lead quickly to direct talks. And the conference itself could not be permitted to veto bilateral agreements or impose decisions on the parties, he added.

But Shamir remained firm. His aides said he was prepared to see this issue result in early national elections if Peres and the Labour Party continued to take a different approach.

For the most part, administration officials and American Jewish leaders were baffled by Shamir's readiness to allow what is largely a hypothetical issue to become so central and to be placed in the position of standing in the way of progress toward peace. The Arabs, they said, are not exactly rushing to enter the peace process under any circumstances. Why not challenge them by accepting the U.S. conditions? Why not let them say no? And if they do, they—rather than Israel—will be blamed for the continued stalemate.

SEVERAL U.S. officials suggested that Shamir was simply trying to project a tough stance on this issue in order to play up to his hardline constituency in the Likud. "He has to show David Levy and Ariel Sharon that he, too, can stand up to the pressures from Peres," one U.S. official said.

Shamir said that he received an assurance from President Reagan that the U.S. would not permit

Coalition spat spreads to White House lawn

Prime Minister Shamir in his current visit to the United States has not hesitated to speak out on issues on which the U.S. and Israel differ. Wolf Blitzer reports that the Reagan administration intends taking a low profile on these problems as it sees them as part of Israel's domestic politics.

either the Soviet Union or the PLO to enter the peace process. But Reagan's assurance was not reconciled with his simultaneous declaration that "any reasonable means" of achieving direct negotiations, "including an international conference, should be considered."

U.S. officials said that both Reagan and Shultz were well-known anti-Soviet hardliners themselves and were reluctant to see the Soviets back in the Middle East peace process. But if the Soviets were prepared to allow more Jews to emigrate and if they re-established diplomatic relations with Israel, the U.S. might be prepared to accept an enhanced Soviet role.

"We're not holding our breath waiting for the Soviets to meet either condition," an American official said. Meantime, however, the burden was on the Soviets to take such positive steps. The Americans noted that there are some winds of change developing in the Soviet Union. Perhaps, they said, this process should be encouraged, rather than simply dismissed out of hand as meaningless.

Later on Wednesday, Shamir quipped during an informal meeting with reporters in his hotel suite that an international conference could involve Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the United States. "That's also an international conference," he said, trying to belittle the significance of the dispute with Washington.

Despite the public disagreement over this issue expressed by Shamir and the Americans, the issue is not likely to overly strain U.S.-Israel relations. The Americans are too plugged into Israel politics to allow that to occur. They recognize that the matter is divisive and could even result in a breakup of the national unity government. U.S. officials insist that they want to stay clear of that domestic Israeli political brawl.

Even as Shamir was publicly rejecting an international conference, one of Peres's top aides, Dr. Nimrod Novik, was telling a national Jewish gathering in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, that the idea represented an historic breakthrough and that Israel

should quickly seize the opportunity to promote peace. Once again, there were two positions expressed by Israeli leaders.

SHAMIR also initiated another potentially major debate by raising the entire issue of the Soviet Jewish "dropouts," those Jews deciding to settle in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere in the Diaspora, rather than in Israel. The prime minister said that he had formally asked Secretary Shultz, during a breakfast meeting Wednesday, that the U.S. no longer grant refugee status to emigrating Soviet Jews. They are not refugees, Shamir said. They have exit visas stamped for Israel—they have a place to live.

On Wednesday night, Shamir went one step further. Addressing some 600 local and national Jewish leaders at an Israel Bonds dinner at the Hilton Hotel, the prime minister said that this U.S. policy of welcoming Soviet Jews as "homeless refugees" was in fact "an affront" to Israel. He called for a change so that the Jews would first have no choice but to come to Israel. Later, he said that if they wanted to leave Israel, they could do so but only as emigrating Israelis.

Shamir said that 170,000 Soviet Jews have settled in Israel over the past 15 years and they have become "a very positive element" in Israeli society. "We want the rest of the Russian Jews to come home," he added. "We must put an end to the dropout phenomenon."

At the White House, Shamir said the struggle for Soviet Jewry must be renewed "with full vigour" and that the Jews should be allowed to return "to their ancient homeland, the land of Israel... Their happiness at coming home to Israel and experiencing freedom and democracy is their and our tribute to you."

Shamir said that Shultz promised to examine U.S. policy on the question. But no change in America's position is likely. A senior U.S. official told reporters that the administration supports "freedom of choice" for Soviet Jews. That, too, is the prevailing position of many Jew-

ish leaders who simply want the Jews to get out of the Soviet Union.

On this issue, therefore, there is a potential for a major debate between Israel and the American Jewish community. The Reagan administration is unlikely to make any changes in U.S. policy on this touchy subject, especially because the American Jewish community is not exactly in line with Israel's stance.

Thus, the administration will try to stay out of the debate between Labour and Likud on the matter of an international conference and the debate between Israel and the American Jewish community on the matter of the dropouts.

STILL, on the whole, Shamir's visit to Washington went rather smoothly. House and Senate leaders announced that they had reached agreement with Israel on the ground rules for investigating the Iran arms affair. Both Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and Representative Lee Hamilton of Indiana, the respective chairmen of the select committees, expressed their satisfaction with Israel's stance, as conveyed to them by Shamir during a meeting Wednesday.

The Iran arms controversy was largely ignored during Shamir's meetings with Reagan, Shultz and other administration officials—as was the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal. "We have not discussed this, what you call the Pollard affair," Shamir said. "It is a very painful experience for us. It was introduced against the will and the policy of the Israeli government, and the government of Israel has fully cooperated with the American government in handling this question, to put an end to it."

Despite the problems, the U.S.-Israeli relationship clearly remains strong. The last time Shamir came to Washington as prime minister was in November 1983. At that time, he was accompanied by then defense minister Moshe Arens. They reached a truly historic agreement with Reagan and Shultz to embark on U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation. They also announced that they would work for the creation of a free trade area agreement.

Since then, there have been dramatic advances made in both areas. The free trade area agreement has been ratified—the only one of its kind the U.S. has. And strategic cooperation has progressed in all sorts of practical ways, culminating this week with Reagan's announcement that Israel had been granted major non-Nato ally status. Shamir could look back on these achievements with satisfaction.

Yet problems remain—as they always do. U.S. officials sense that a big problem right now is the stability of the national unity government. They see the cracks widening. They also see signs that both Shamir and Peres may be more prepared to test their popularity at the polls.

Unnatural government

Arye Naor

HOW MANY governments does the State of Israel have?

This is not just a matter of sophistry. It is the government's prerogative to determine goals and decide on priorities. No other body is allowed to represent a country before the international community and to act on the state's behalf. That is why, since antiquity, it has been regarded as self-evident that it is impossible to have more than one foreign policy at the same time as it is to have concurrently point and counterpoint. It is a law of nature.

But it now appears, in the case of Israeli foreign policy, that either natural law has been repealed or we have more than one government. One of our "governments" decides that an international peace conference has the potential of leading to a breakthrough in the peace process and therefore accepts it, while the other is convinced that said conference is really dangerous to our future and rejects the idea. And so that nobody would fail to clearly understand Israel's foreign policy objectives, Vice Premier Shimon Peres in his capacity as the foreign minister officially negotiates the conditions for convening that international forum, while Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir firmly explains why such a conference is unconditionally unacceptable to the same State of Israel—not as a matter of diplomatic tactics but in principle.

And so, how many governments do we have here?

None, I'm afraid. The executive powers of the state are embodied in the government. Acting on behalf of the state, the government has certain exclusive spheres of action, including foreign policy. No one is allowed to interfere with the use of those exclusive powers. Therefore, it is impossible that more than one government may act at the same time, internationally or domestically. To say that there is more than one government in power at the same time is a contradiction in terms. It means that there is no government at all.

UPON ITS establishment some observers described the cabinet of national unity as a camel with two humps. They were wrong. The camel, unfortunately, has two heads: one leads to the right and the other to the left. The unavoidable consequence is either a total stalemate or a fractured hump. In any case the poor animal can't move.

Quite soon, the Likud and Labour will have to reconsider their political partnership. Having early elections can harm the economy, but we also can expect little from our wounded camel.

—Apart from domestic ramifications...

Israel's international position needs clarification. Do we have a foreign policy at all? If so, what are its objectives? What do we want to achieve? Is peace the aim or just the means to promote other goals?

These are essential questions. It is the duty of the government to answer them before using its diplomatic power; otherwise, national strategy would be determined by tactical considerations—a mistake for which a high price could be paid.

But this government could not survive a political debate on the conditions and procedures for establishing peace. Such a debate in the cabinet would probably lead to a political crisis resulting in early elections.

Apparently such a development may really help Shamir and his followers in Herut. It was not by accident that he told his American hosts that he was ready for elections on the basis of rejecting the very idea of an international conference. In that way, he has proven to his party that he is a courageous leader and has improved his ability to refute the criticism by his party rivals, David Levy and Ariel Sharon.

If Labour does not take up the challenge he emerges as almost undisputed leader. If it does, he will win his party's nomination without a real fight, and then have a good chance of winning the election campaign and serving as prime minister for four more years. Either way, his absolute negation of the international parley pays off in terms of domestic politics.

THE INTERNATIONAL meaning of the two foreign policies of Israel is quite another matter. It damages the prospects of peace and questions our determination to achieve it. Even our best friends will find it difficult to explain and justify our running away from peacemaking on procedural grounds—especially after a clear recommendation from the Reagan administration to consider an international conference as a mechanism to ensure the participation of Jordan in the peace process.

More than that, it is a misconception to say that a U.S. decision on whether or not to discuss Middle Eastern affairs with the Soviet Union fully depends on us. We probably have an opportunity to receive a certain payment from the Soviets in return for our approval of their participation in the peace process. But this option is not permanent. It is possible that in the course of East-West dialogue, a superpower understanding on our region may be

reached. It happened before and it took a great deal of effort, in which much reason and courage were invested, until a way to avoid that threat could be found.

Why should we, by rejecting the American position, push our only allies into the arms of the Soviets? Is there someone who really believes that Israeli national interests can be furthered in that way?

Even without going into the dialectics of talking peace in order to prevent an unnecessary war, it is clear that by unconditionally rejecting the idea of an international conference, we gain less and risk more than by discussing it seriously with the U.S., as well as with Egypt and Jordan.

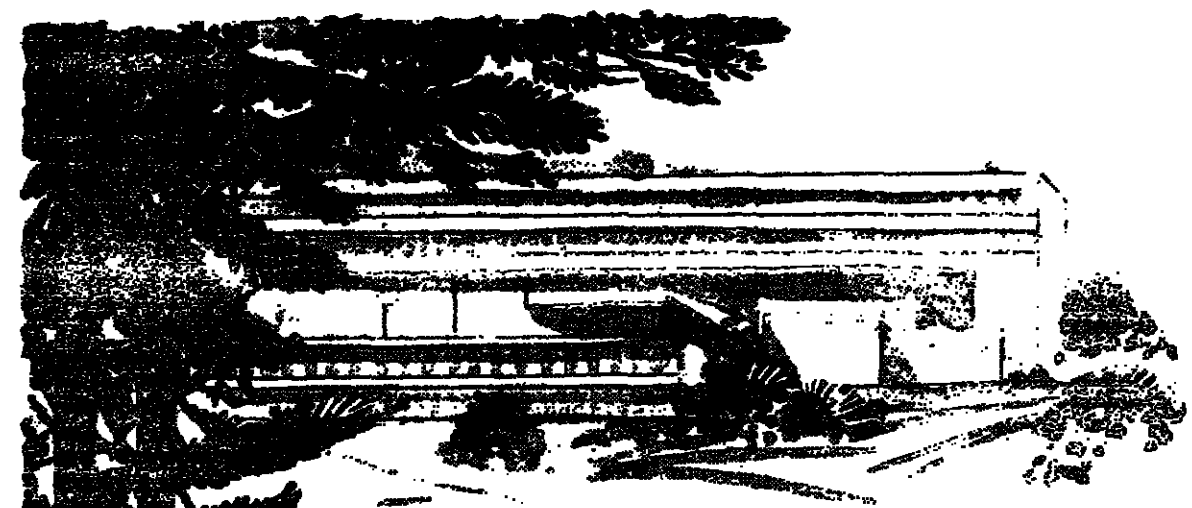
Nevertheless, from his point of view, Prime Minister Shamir may return victorious from his Washington trip. His army have not been twisted, and standing with Secretary of State George Shultz in the State Department's crowded lobby, he firmly and unequivocally explained to the media that the policy advised by Shultz could have endangered Israel. "I am strongly opposed to that invention," declared our premier, referring to the idea of an international peace conference that had been recommended by Shultz a moment earlier.

By doing so, Shamir again proven his courage. It is not easy to say "no" to the U.S. It is unpleasant to say so to none other than the best friend of a country that his approach represented a major threat to that state, and it is embarrassing to say so inside Washington, standing beside the secretary.

There is no doubt that Shamir's personal record is full of brave deeds. He successfully escaped twice from British prisons, once in Egypt and once in Africa. He was not hesitated, while in the Left underground north of the Mosad, where he later served. He always was ready to do what he thought was necessary at a given moment, regardless of personal risks involved. Very few people could have accomplished what he did.

But leading a nation, making and conducting foreign policy, requires more than that. History is full of disasters caused by brave leaders who misconceived reality. Shaking with folded hands will not produce peace. But peace, as Moshe Dayan said shortly after he had captured power, is inevitable. In the end there will be peace and the real question is, do we gain more by a delay in that process?

The answer is no. Therefore a sense of political realism should lead the whole government to adopt a more positive approach. But what can one expect from a camel with two heads and a broken hump?



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ISRAEL'S TOP EXPERT on Iran, Dr. David Menashri, made headlines recently when he deplored the "pro-Israel" consensus among cabinet ministers, with the exception of Ezer Weisman. The 45-year-old, Iranian-born research associate at Tel Aviv University's Dayan Centre, compared this consensus to the preference for Iraq among most academic experts.

Menashri says Israeli involvement in the arms deals with Khomeini's Iran reflected "at best, wishful thinking." But above all, it expressed the traditional security concept enshrined in Ben-Gurion's "periphery theory." This concept depicts Middle East non-Arab states as strategic rivals of their Arab neighbors — as Israel's natural allies. In Menashri's view, if Israel has to take sides, it should prefer Iraq.

Menashri challenges the pro-Iraqian preference, urging a re-examination of the periphery theory formulated in the 50s, in view of the changed circumstances of the 80s. The periphery — and especially Iran — has become more radical, while changes have taken place in the Arab world itself, the most notable being Egypt's peace treaty with Israel.

The underestimates American bids to open channels to Iran, because of its own strategic significance. The U.S. does not consider Iran an enemy, but is completely dependent on the U.S. Nor does it see Iran as a "moderate" in the sense of being ready for a dialogue with the U.S., but is amenable to dealing with Israel. Menashri sees the "moderate" thinking that cool relations, especially among those who are not in a position to help the "moderate" against the "extremists," and the "moderate" as a post-Khomeini regime. Menashri strongly doubts that an Iranian leadership would be able to deal differently to the Jewish state, irrespective of arms supplies.

It seems that the advice about Israel's enemy being automatic, one's friend, is not applicable in the Middle East. "Why do I prefer Iraq? Largely because we are not thinking in terms of whom to fight, and start to think in terms of whom to make peace with," he explains.

He notes that the advocates of aid to Iran, inspired by the periphery theory, have long regarded as an enemy, the "moderate" Iran. They argue that the desire to achieve hegemony in the Arab world would lead it to turn its back on Israel. This view of thought, however, is not shared by all. It would be too easy to deal with its Sunni Muslim neighbors to care about Israel.

But it is Menashri's considered view that a post-war Iraq would focus on partitioning its borders and rebuilding its infrastructure. But he is not alone in this view. It is one of the main themes of the report. If Iran is to be a victory for a fundamentalist, revolutionary ideology — one that would change the map of the Middle East.

Getting aside the issue of whether the Iran-Israel connection was justified in the first place, he was struck by the contradictory manner in which it was handled, particularly the second phase after January 1980, when Israel lost its son-in-law, the Iranian ambassador. The Dayan Centre scholar said: "I don't wish to comment on the inexperience of those engaged in handling such complex negotiations, even given that the Iranians were sincere in opening a dialogue with the U.S. — the necessity of ending the hostages-for-arms exchange is a fight from the outset."

But why did American and Israeli authorities have to travel all the way to Tehran for such negotiations? After all, the people who initiated the contact justified it on the basis of the fierce power struggle between "moderates" and "extremists." Why then risk everything by going there? It should have been clear that those opposing the negotiations would seek to expose them, and there all, why did an official Israeli representative have to join the fight in Tehran?

DR. MENASHRI'S family resided



(AP Photo)

Backing the wrong horse?

Iran expert Dr. David Menashri believes Israeli policy-makers must drop their 'preference' for Iran. He argues that it's time to stop thinking in terms of whom it would be easier to fight and start considering whom it would be easier to make peace with, Mark Segal reports.



(Hanoch Gutman)

for centuries in the ayatollah's home town of Khomeini; he, however, was born in Tehran. The family came to Israel in 1949, spending their initial education period living in the Rishon LeZion ma'bara. Menashri still lives in Rishon.

He studied at Tel Aviv University and chose Iran as the subject of his doctoral thesis. Between 1975 and 1977 on the eve of the revolution, he returned to Iran to study local conditions on a Ford Foundation scholarship.

"Iran was being ignored by the academic world," said Menashri, "and it was too important a country for that. The same, as I found out, was the case with the Shi'ite section of Islam. Since then we've tried, belatedly, to rectify the situation by fostering a generation of students of modern Iran. The same applies to the U.S., where they only started to show greater interest from the 70s. But, you know, people have gone from one extreme to the other — from neglecting Iranian studies to over-estimating Islamic power in that country. After all the revolution succeeded because of a complexity of causes, not only because of religion," Dr. Menashri points out.

Khomeini seized power eight years ago this month, and Menashri considers that his revolution has successfully entrenched itself, making Iran the most religious country in the world apart from the Vatican.

"Khomeini has institutionalized the revolution and ensured stability, often by bloodily routing out opposition forces. His bureaucratization of the revolution has worked, with his disciples monopolizing all sources of power in Iran. His followers have developed a sophisticated and effective indoctrination campaign. Their

slogan 'We are Islam' and their blanket condemnation of all opponents as anti-Islam, has worked," the expert explained.

A particularly effective instrument of indoctrination is Iranian TV, popularly known as "Mullavision", because of the prevalence of mullahs on the screen during most viewing time.

The Khomeini regime's survival is aided by the lack of any coherent opposition. In the scholar's meetings with exiled opposition politicians he found that their mutual detestation was even greater than their hatred of the ayatollah.

"Each one considers himself an Iranian de Gaulle destined to rescue his country," he relates. Before seizing power, Khomeini succeeded in welding them all into a coherent force by playing on their opposition to the Shah's rule and offering them an ideological programme on which they could unite.

Mossadegh had a similar success years earlier, welding a coalition out of various factions and unifying them on a nationalist ideology. Menashri notes that even in the early days of the Khomeini revolution, its leadership showed some measure of pragmatism. Although the Khomeini revolution, from the first, subscribed to Pan-Islamic ideology, it possesses nationalist overtones: like the Shah, Khomeini refers to the Persian Gulf.

While Khomeini's Iran is the most religious country in the modern world, its closest ally is Ba'athist Syria, the most secular Islamic state, Menashri points out. "Tehran claims it won't ever make peace with Baghdad until the fall of the secular Ba'athist regime. Yet it conveniently forgets to mention that its closest ally, Syria, is ruled by a wing of the

same secular movement," he remarks.

Another curious aspect of Khomeini's pragmatism, irrespective of official rhetoric, is that Tehran and Baghdad broke off diplomatic relations with each other's allies, yet neither belligerent thought fit to cut off their bilateral diplomatic relations and continued to maintain embassies in each other's capital.

When Iran's foreign minister Hussein Ali Akhbar Velayati, was asked the reason for this by radical students, he replied, "The fact that the embassy in there does not mean we have good relations." Commented Menashri: "A strange war indeed!"

AS THE REGIME enters its ninth year, question marks loom over its long-term survivability due to the severity of Iran's economic problems and the effects of the drawn-out war which has so far caused the deaths of half a million soldiers — conservative estimate — on both sides.

Menashri's contention is that Khomeini was able to take power not only by virtue of personal charisma and religious zeal, but also due to aggravated social, economic and cultural crises under the Shah's rule.

Khomeini's power base has always been among the millions of poor Iranians, known as *mostafarin* (the oppressed). Their lot may have worsened since the revolution, though they make up for it with improved morale. They can identify with the ayatollah's rule and compare his Spartan life-style to the conspicuous ostentation of the Shah's court.

"The Shah spoke to their minds, while Khomeini speaks to their hearts. They see him as the messiah on earth. He brought hope into their lives of misery. He toppled the old regime, but the big question remains whether he can improve the lot of the oppressed," the scholar argues.

He claims that the West is unaware of Iran's population explosion

problem, displacing Egypt as No. 1 in the Middle East birth rate charts. Menashri quotes from the last population survey conducted in October, 1986. It showed that since 1979, Iran's population rose dramatically from 37 million to 48 million. An Iranian demographer told him that the number of births in Iran almost doubled between 1978 and 1980.

"After years of the Shah's birth-control campaign, the mullahs came out strongly against this 'heresy', outlawing all contraceptive devices," Menashri notes.

In the early years of this century, Tehran's population was 100,000; it rose to three million by 1963, then to five million in 1976. By now, the Iranian capital is bursting at the seams with between seven and eight million. University applications offer a telling illustration: last year there were half a million applicants competing for 50,000 places. Nearly half of Iran's 25 million trained physicians now work abroad. Acute housing shortages and over-crowding in Tehran, with half a million families unable to acquire their own homes, may well prove to be a time bomb ticking away under the regime.

Menashri is not one to make rash predictions, but he contemplates the possibility that popular support for the regime could be eroded by a combination of factors. The country's economic difficulties include the virtual paralysis of industry since the revolution and the dramatic decline in oil revenues compounded by Iraqi air raids on oil fields and installations. The rationing system has produced a flourishing black market, which, he says, could potentially prove a great threat to the regime, for there are no real shortages.

"Everyone knows that everything is available if you have the money. The big question for the regime is when the oppressed will start openly questioning the official line that economic problems inherited from the old regime plus the war,

have caused the deteriorating conditions. My sources say there is a change of mood in Tehran, with more people asking 'who needs the war?'

"The root of the matter is that changing the regime has not changed the people. If you could bribe officials under the Shah to keep your son out of the army, you can do the same now. Instead of the Shah's courtiers, one now hears of imams smuggling out money to secret bank accounts abroad."

THE WAR HAS BEEN a blessing, for the ruling clerics, Menashri asserts. "It has kept the army far away at the front. It provided good excuses for poor administration, for crushing all opposition elements and for maintaining the level of religious zeal."

"At first when Iranians referred to the war it always went together with the word 'barakat' (blessing of). According to my information, people by now, see more disadvantage than blessing in the war, and its continuation is increasingly questioned. The dispossessed see the rich doing well out of the conflict. They see that Khomeini has not bridged the gap between the masses and the rich. They also know that the sons of the rich do not die on the battle fields as theirs do, and that those with enough money to bribe the right people can keep their sons out of the army."

Martyrology is an intrinsic historical element in Shi'ite tradition, and Khomeini has exploited this tradition in pursuing his vision. Iranian society was probably better prepared for the idea of suffering and death for the sacred cause than any other on earth. Menashri notes that throughout a century of Arab Jewish conflict, there were no Arab suicide attacks until Khomeini emerged on the world stage. Outstanding example of such attacks were the car-bomb assaults in Lebanon, with Shi'ite drivers volunteering for suicide missions.

Yet, as the casualty lists grow and bereaved families mourn in every house in the poorer sections of Tehran, there are signs of a shift in mood. Tehran dailies print pages of paid obituaries conveying "blessings to the family of the martyr who fell in the war," a concerted campaign of congratulations which has become part of official indoctrination. Significantly, however, there are few death notices relating to families from the wealthier neighbourhoods of north Tehran, a fact which can hardly escape the notice of the poor.

It is significant too, that press photos of funerals of fallen soldiers are featuring fewer and fewer mothers rejoicing over their sons' martyrdom.

Recently, a new bill was proposed punishing draft-dodgers with such sanctions as cutting off electricity and water to their homes and refusing them work in government agencies. Menashri considers this measure the most significant indication of mounting opposition to the war: "After all, if so many wish to become martyrs in Khomeini's holy war, as it's officially claimed, why would they need such a law?" he asks.

TALK ABOUT "moderates" versus "extremists" brought a smile to Menashri's face. The term moderation is misplaced, he thinks; a more appropriate term would be pragmatism, often a pragmatism veiled in extremist rhetoric. He regards Speaker of the Majlis Ali Rafsanjani as the leader of the pragmatic faction in the Tehran power struggle. The speaker is no more a figure-head but wields considerable influence.

Rafsanjani gives pep talks, related Menashri, urging people to behave more moderately in daily life. He has advised them to spruce up their appearance and shave off their beards, regarded by many as the badge of the true revolutionary. He has also asked Iranian TV to screen more (Western) movies, and on one occasion, even upgraded a football club for adopting the name of Ayatollah Beheshti, declaring: "If it loses a game, does that mean the Ayatollah's defeat?"

The speaker has urged young men not to insist upon marrying virgins. "They should also marry widows. Did not the Prophet Mohammed marry a widow?" he asked, in an obvious reference to the prevalence of young war widows.

Rafsanjani's pragmatism extends to foreign policy. When Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein visited Moscow last year, all Iranian leaders blasted the Soviets and Iraq, with the exception of the speaker who explained the Soviets' position. The fact that Hussein returned empty-handed to Baghdad certainly bolstered Rafsanjani's standing.

Who runs Iran today? Menashri says they are Khomeini's radical disciples — in their 40s and early 50s, most of them former students of his who have risen in the Shi'ite religious hierarchy. Interestingly, Khomeini lacks support among the six or seven grand ayatollahs, mostly in their 80s, at the peak of the Shi'ite hierarchy. He placed one under house arrest for some years until his death; another lives in Iraq. Thus, he lacks any natural successor and promoted the 65-year-old Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri as his heir, more for reasons of political loyalty than learning and piety.

The Dayan Centre scholar mentions the jokes circulating in Tehran about the uncharismatic Montazeri, nicknamed "the cat." What has increased his unpopularity is the heir-apparent's conducting himself like a junior Khomeini while lacking the latter's political acumen. This was apparently the reason behind increased talk in Tehran of choosing a leadership council, should Khomeini disappear from the scene.

One indication of Montazeri's shaky position is Rafsanjani's protestation of support for his piety. If the speaker took the trouble to make such statements, it must mean that question marks are hovering over his leadership qualities.

Members of the Khomeini family remain influential, especially his son Ahmed, who had dealings with those proposing the arms transaction.

THE POWER struggle in Tehran operates on two levels. One concerns the succession — Montazeri or the council. The other level involves a power struggle between two factions, "one led by Rafsanjani and the other by President Mohammed Ali Khomeini." There are theological differences between the two, compounded by political and personal antagonisms.

The issues are land redistribution, more freedom for the private sector and lower taxation. But the real chink points out the shifting nature of factional loyalties, with some politicians more conservative on domestic issues, yet more radical about exporting the revolution.

Iranate grew out of legitimate American interests in opening channels to Tehran. Khomeini himself is anti-Soviet as well as anti-American. The U.S. is "the Great Satan for Khomeini, the Soviet Union is 'the Red Satan.'" Some of Khomeini's closest followers favour Christian America over Communist Russia.

The war and its ensuing economic shortages have increased the numbers of those seeking a pro-American shift. Menashri thought it was significant that those who leaked the arms deal were arrested, including Mehdi Hashemi, brother of Montazeri's son-in-law. Interestingly, Hashemi was head of the state organization for exporting the revolution.

The Dayan Centre scholar referred to media reports that Iranian arms dealer Qorbanifar provided Israel with lists of radicals, moderates and middle-of-the-roads. Other information was reportedly given to Americans and Israelis by a senior ayatollah.

"Comparison of these lists indicates considerable inconsistency between names and categories," observes Menashri. "Moreover, Jerusalem and Washington said they were dealing with 'moderates', yet according to *The Washington Post*, the prime minister's adviser on counter-terrorism, Anuram Nir, claimed he dealt with the most radical circles."

"If they dealt with the same people, it may be said that one man's radical is another's moderate. Of course, there's no question that many at the top have become more pragmatic. But by Western standards they are far from being moderate. Those talking and writing about the Iranian establishment should always keep in mind that the term 'moderate' is relative at best."



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'If they try to kill us, we will defend ourselves'

Shi'ite members of the South Lebanese Army are locked in a deadly struggle to protect the northern edge of the security zone against their extremist brethren, David Rudge reports.

THE BEARDED Shi'ite soldier stared out from his machine-gun emplacement overlooking the checkpoint on the northern border of the security zone in the Taibe region of south Lebanon.

"Yes, they are Shi'ites like us. But they come here to kill, not to bless us, and we will fight them with all our power," he declared.

The speaker, Raouf Ali Ayoub, was referring to his brethren, extremist Shi'ites who belong to the fanatical Iranian-backed Hizbullah movement, which has been behind the recent wave of attacks on South Lebanese Army forces and positions in the security zone.

Ayoub himself is a long-serving member of the SLA which is made up predominantly of Christians in the region. Nevertheless, he sees no conflict of interest in his position of siding with the local Christians against his co-religionists north of the security zone.

It is one of the great ironies of strife-torn Lebanon that the civil war has forged bonds and covenants that cut across political and religious loyalties. The alliance between Christians and some Shi'ite residents of the security zone is a case in point, and is not as improbable as it may seem.

The name of the game is survival in a land where might is right. The Shi'ites in the region want to stay alive as much as anyone else. At the moment it serves their interests, for demographic and geographic reasons, to throw in their lot with the Israeli-backed SLA.

"There is no government in Lebanon. We are the government here," said Ayoub. "In order to protect ourselves, we have to protect the others in the region. If we don't guard ourselves, who will?"

DRESSED in green battle fatigues, his Kalashnikov rifle strapped across his chest, Ayoub is accustomed to guard duty that has become part of the way of life for the local residents.

The hilltop stronghold overlooking the boundary of the security zone is manned almost exclusively by Shi'ites from the nearby village of Huleh where Ayoub lives with his wife and four children. The village itself is only four kilometres from the Israeli border.

Most of the soldiers, like Ayoub, are family men whose main objective is to ensure that their children have a chance to grow up. They maintain that, because of their efforts and the continued presence of IDF troops, their region is more peaceful and prosperous than elsewhere in the battered and blood-stained country known as Lebanon.

The evidence and tragedy of the civil war, however, are never far away. On the day our small party of journalists and escorts visited the area, the residents of Huleh were in mourning. All the occupants of the village, it seemed, were outside blocking the main street, their faces sombre and lined with sorrow.

They had attended the funeral of a woman and her young daughter who were killed by indiscriminate shelling while visiting relatives in Beirut. The bodies of the two had been brought home that same morning. It was to prevent that kind of armed anarchy penetrating their hometown that the residents decided to take up arms in self-defence.

They also had another powerful and overriding reason - a bitter and

deep hatred of all things Palestinian. The villagers of Huleh, in common with all residents of South Lebanon, remember all too well the rule of terror imposed on them by the PLO and armed Palestinians prior to Israel's incursion in 1982.

Stories of atrocities committed by the Palestinians on the local populace abound. One villager told of a young girl whose mother and father were killed in front of her. The girl, only in her teens at the time, was then raped and then branded with a burning hot iron. She still bears the clearly discernible marks of the iron on her body to this day, the villager said.

The memories of the villagers are long, while the spectre of those days is still too close and real for them to forget, even if they wanted to.

LATELY, the Hizbullah has been assisting the Palestinian resurgence in Lebanon. In return the extremist Shi'ite faction has received aid, direct and indirect, from the terrorists.

This alone is sufficient to explain the enmity between the Shi'ites in the security zone and their fanatical Moslem brethren. Like the majority of Shi'ites in south Lebanon, who are loosely connected to Amal, the Shi'ites in the security zone are determined to ensure there will be no return to the dark days of Palestinian oppression.

In addition the Shi'ites in the zone are pragmatists. The SLA and the zone itself are established facts, supported by neighbouring Israel, a powerful ally and a deadly foe.

For these reasons, some openly admitted, the residents of Huleh and neighbouring Shi'ite villages are prepared to lay their lives on the line for the SLA, the security zone and the defence of their homes.

"We lived through the Palestinians and we were the ones who suffered most," said Mahmoud Ayoub, a tall imposing Shi'ite, also

Raouf Ali Ayoub mans a machine-gun post overlooking the northern border of the security zone. "Yes they are Shi'ites like us. But they come here to kill, not to bless us," he says.

(Photos by David Rudge)

nians, masquerading as members of the Hizbullah," he asserted.

THE SLA Shi'ite troops at the

'Morale is high and has not been affected by the one or two successes of the Hizbullah'

from Huleh, who commands the SLA outpost at the "border" crossing.

"After the Israelis pulled out of Lebanon, the Palestinians started to return under the cover of the Hizbullah," he said. "The fact that they (Hizbullah) are Shi'ites like us makes no difference."

"There are many groups and militias in Lebanon. You can have a father in one group and his son in another. We belong to the SLA and we will continue to man the strongholds and fight for the security of the region."

He maintained that the Shi'ite extremists did not have much support in the area. "You will find it (Hizbullah) in the Bekaa Valley where it takes its orders from the Iranians and the Syrians. They are the ones who order the attacks," said Ayoub.

"We don't fear them because we know they operate from outside our region and don't have enough support to stay in the area."

He said some Iranian soldiers, conscripted to serve in Lebanon, had participated in attacks on SLA and IDF forces. "There are also Palesti-

nians, masquerading as members of the Hizbullah," he asserted.

An IDF major whom we met in the Taibe region which covers an area comprising 18 villages, most of them Shi'ite, explained that the region had its own general security service. Officials were appointed by the villagers to these posts and it was their duty to monitor all those passing into or out of the area.

At the Huleh checkpoint, a small guardhouse doubles as a "customs" and "passport" control office. The passports consist of passes, issued by the officials which enable the villagers to leave the confines of the security zone, either to visit relatives "in the north" or to purchase supplies and other essentials.

The customs checks, on the other hand, are not for smuggled contraband, but arms and explosives.

Passes are only issued to those who can prove their business. This is simplified by the fact that virtually all the villagers know one another and can vouch for the authenticity of the travel requests. This in itself enables strict control and supervi-

sion of all north-south traffic. As the major pointed out, it would be much more difficult for IDF personnel to perform such tasks.

On their return travellers are stopped and searched. Vehicles are checked thoroughly for hidden weapons and explosives.

Two barriers 100 metres apart, block the road leading into Huleh and the security zone. Returning residents and stores are stopped in front of the barrier for a search and documentation check. Anybody refusing order to stop and be searched is likely to find himself fired upon by the ards at the checkpoint and the MPs in the stronghold overlooking the road.

The procedure is repeated at the second barrier where every traveller has to pass through the guardhouse.

Only one occasion did someone try to smuggle in explosives, hidden in a sack of flour. The man, a relative of one of the villagers from the north, has not returned since.

The fortified hilltop stronghold is in strategic position which affords a commanding view of the road and surrounding countryside. A few metres away is a UN flag flying from the roof.

The SLA position has not been the target for a concerted attack, although two hours before our visit, several shells fell nearby without inflicting casualties or damage.

Extremists have, however, made a number of attempts to infiltrate the security zone via Wadi Sluki, which is to the west of the SLA post.

These attempts, made under cover of darkness, have all been thwarted and the terrorists killed, or forced to turn back. In the wake of recent attacks on other strongholds, however, the IDF has further strengthened the post with reinforced concrete emplacements lining the earthen ramparts.

The soldiers themselves are also undergoing rigorous refresher training courses on how to defend the position, in the light of attacks against other strongholds.

Mahmoud Ayoub maintained that despite the attacks, and contrary to what had appeared in the Israeli press, the SLA was not in danger of

weapon, stopped our small convoy in its tracks. We took cover as our escorts, within seconds, adopted defensive postures along the roadside.

It turned out to be a false alarm. The fire was not directed at us and we resumed our journey. The message, however, was clear: "When in Lebanon, like on the roads in Israel, expect the unexpected."

OUR NEXT port of call was the village of Adish where we met with dignitaries and leaders of the settlement and surrounding Shi'ite villages.

Sayed Mahmoud Atweh, head of Markabeh village, summarized the

'We have the Palestinians and the Syrians and now the Iranians fighting for their interests on our land'

disintegrating. "Nobody has deserted or resigned from the SLA in our area," he declared. On the contrary, Ayoub said there had been a flood of requests to enlist lately, more than the SLA could cope with. "Morale is high and has not been affected by the one or two successes of the Hizbullah," he asserted.

Peace and quiet, however, is a relative term in the Lebanon context. It is impossible to gauge when and where the next attack may come from.

This was amply demonstrated on the return journey from Huleh. The sudden sound of gunfire, apparently nearby, from a heavy calibre

attitude and aspirations of the local population. "We are Lebanese first and foremost, then Shi'ites and lastly residents of the region," he said.

"We are in the security zone and we have good relations with the SLA and the IDF. If the people from the north try to come here and kill us, we will defend ourselves," said Atweh, whose son is a religious leader in the north.

On the day of our visit, the civic leaders were busy preparing to distribute leaflets, in Arabic, calling on residents north of the security zone to keep the peace and not take up arms against them.

Kamel Abdallah Abu Hamed,

chairman of the regional council which deals with the problems of the area, also emphasized their Lebanese identity. "We are residents of the security zone, but we are Lebanese. This area belongs to us and not to Israel," he said.

Even before the formation of the SLA and the security zone, there was a history of peaceful co-existence between the different ethnic groups in the region, he said. The main problem, said Hamed, was the preponderance of foreigners on Lebanese soil, each with their own interests and considerations.

"We have the Palestinians and the Syrians and now the Iranians each fighting for their interests on our land," he said. "This is the difference between them and the Israelis. The Israelis came here for one specific purpose, to drive out the Palestinians, not to fight against the Lebanese."

Israel, he said, had entered Lebanon of its own volition. But it would not be able to leave in the same way. The residents of the security zone now had the right to a say in the matter and, for the most part, they wanted the Israeli presence to remain. "We receive a great deal of assistance from the Israeli authorities, which is greatly welcomed in the absence of any help from the central government," said Hamed.

The Israeli authorities, he said, had given financial aid towards medical services, schools, water resources and other projects. The residents had been without electricity for four months due to a breakdown in the supply. This had now been repaired by the Lebanese central electricity board, but the Israeli authorities had helped to provide extra cables to the villages. Telephones, albeit military phones, had also been installed in the homes of regional officials to facilitate communications.

Nevertheless, Kamel said, the residents wanted more civilian aid from the Israeli authorities. "Israel helps us with our security and civilian needs, but due to the grave economic situation in Lebanon we would respectfully ask for more help to enable us to maintain and improve our services to the local population," he said.

One aspect of the deteriorating economic situation that is clearly apparent to visitors is the state of the roads which, in many places, have degenerated to the extent that they can no longer be designated as dirt tracks. The constant passage of tanks and armoured vehicles and the weather have taken their toll. There are no local authorities, as such, in the region however, and in the absence of tax collections there are no funds to implement the necessary repairs.

Summarizing the visit, it would appear that the residents of the security zone - Christians, Druse and Shi'ites alike - are reconciled to the continued existence of the security zone.

In return for helping to defend Israel's northern border, at the cost of their lives, they are demanding help in return - not just with arms and equipment, but with resources to help them lead normal lives.

The SLA, they say, will remain intact and will continue to fight Israel's battles and their own in the joint interests of self-preservation.

For its part, Israel should take more of an interest in raising the living standards of the local population. Their demands, according to the residents, are not unjustified. As one villager pointed out "If the IDF had to defend this region without our support, the price, both economically and in terms of lives and wounded, would be astronomical."

As it is, he added, "a whole generation of children in the northern settlements have been able to grow up hardly knowing what a bomb shelter is."

ERETZ Magazine - Winter 1987

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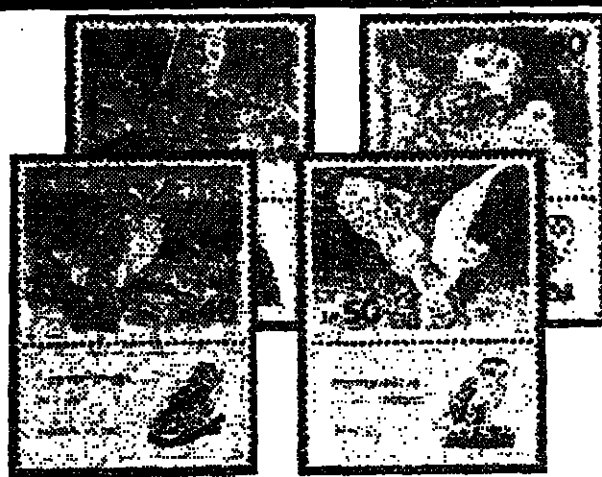
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EVERY ELDERLY Jewish lady seemed to have one little old man in a long black coat and a beard collecting money for "the yeshivas in Eretz Yisrael."

Her children usually tried to convince her that she was throwing away her money. They said the yeshivot didn't even exist.

Her grandchildren, as often as not, told her that she was doing a wonderful thing. Some of them even ended up studying in these same yeshivot.

Now the tin collection boxes are a collector's item, as are the yellow calendars, with their pictures of little boys with wide, staring eyes and peaked faces.

But yeshivot are growing and must support themselves. Though they are loath to give up the old fundraising methods, increasingly they use the same techniques of other institutions. The yeshivot themselves may vary drastically, but all must support themselves.

Some emissaries still go from door to door, but others set out with a select list of telephone numbers. Even when they represent the most ultra-Orthodox institutions, the emissaries are often newly religious university graduates, who have no difficulty in finding a common language with the most assimilated of Jews.

But they still head first for those few strictly observant Jews with enormous wealth who have made their names a byword in religious institutions in Israel. In fact, according to the director of one Jerusalem yeshiva, the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox institutions of Israel are largely dependant on three families in North America - Gruss, Reichman and Tannenbaum.

They do not seek publicity, but two of them recently found their way into the news in connection with the philanthropy.

In one case, the late Caroline Gruss of New York, who passed away last month, reportedly left \$100 million for Israeli causes, of which \$58 million was to go to general institutions, and \$42 million for the building of the Tora institutions. Max Gruss and his late wife were known for their interest in both religious and general projects, a type of philanthropic activity which is not considered typical.

Far more typical is the case of the Reichman brothers of Toronto, who were said to be setting up a fund of some \$100 million to help rescue yeshivot in distress. A spokesman for the fund later denied that the Reichmans alone had established the fund or that a specific amount had been mentioned, but the reports alone were enough to send the heads of yeshivot scurrying to stand in line at Jerusalem's Central Hotel, where a committee was registering their requests.

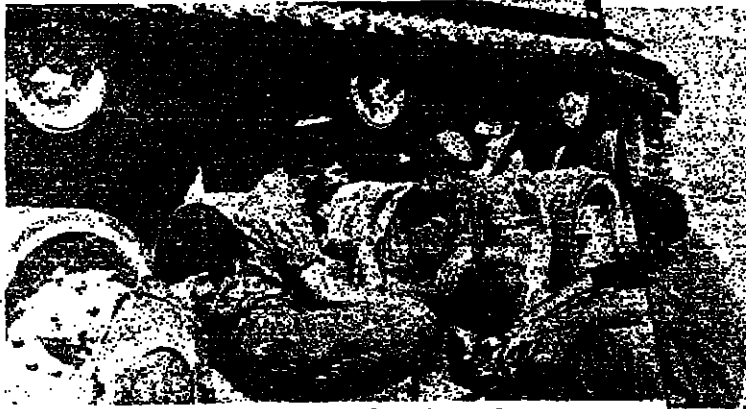
An interesting aspect of both reports was that the rabbis who were administering the distribution were all close to Rabbi Eliezer Shach, the former head of Agudat Yisrael Council of Sages and presently spiritual adviser to the Shas party.

In a sense, it is also quite understandable, as Schach is the elder sage of "Lithuanian" scholars, among whom the yeshiva system historically flourished. In the context of Israeli politics, however, it means that one element in the ultra-Orthodox community wields a very powerful tool.

The third family of benefactors mentioned by the yeshiva director were Joseph and Faye Tannenbaum of New York. Others familiar with the funding of Tora institutions suggested other names, including Naftali and Edith Tessler of Canada, Yitzhak Cassier of Antwerp and Arthur Hubert and his son Walter, of Blackpool, England.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of all of these donors, who have each contributed millions of dollars to yeshivot and allied institutions, is that they all either survived or escaped the Holocaust. It is thus not unnatural that they have a specific interest in the survival of the traditional Judaism.

THE YESHIVA director, who asked that both he and his institutions remain unidentified, vividly describes the very sort of yeshiva which a "rescue fund" could help.



Different funds for different types of yeshiva students.

This is an ultra-Orthodox institution with a distinguished history that nevertheless hovers at the brink of bankruptcy.

Of the 450 pupils, ranging from the age of 2½ to after marriage, some 70 are in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten. Cared for by "rebbe" who receive wages below the scale for kindergarten teachers, the children begin learning to read when they are about 3½.

Another 300 boys study pre-bar mitzva grades, with study time gradually increasing from five to ten hours a day. Some 80 in the equivalent of high school, come for prayers at 7.30 a.m. and remain until 8.30 at night.

As they boys stay longer, they eat more and more of their meals at the yeshiva, with the high school students eating three meals a day. Though some pay something, it is still a considerable expense for the institution.

At 16, the boys are selected for the "yeshiva ketana."

"The yeshiva has to keep its reputation, they don't take kids who can't sit and study." It is only in these upper grades, the director explains, where selection plays as much of a role in limiting the number of pupils as the physical and financial limitations of the yeshiva.

In the lower grades, if possible, no applicant will be turned away. Indeed it is this principle which explains why this yeshiva, like others, tends to go heavily into debt.

Finally, after the age of 18, the students graduate to the "yeshiva gedola" where they remain until they are married, usually by the age of 25. Again selection is the rule and here the students do not even pay a nominal amount for their meals. These are the students who many in the secular and moderate religious camps would like to see doing regular army service.

After marriage, the students join the *kolel*, a framework in which they get government stipends. But, stresses the director, the most a student can receive, if he studies from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily and is tested on the material he is studying, is \$375 a month.

"It is a way of life, they don't do it for the money," he stresses.

ALL THIS TAKES MONEY. Indeed, in 1984/85 fiscal year, it took just over half a million dollars, a budget which had a deficit of about \$30,000. The precariousness of the yeshiva's existence is best illustrated by the fact that during that year, the yeshiva spent over \$40,000 paying interest and bank charges.

More than once, the director recalls, the National Insurance Institute attached a lien on such items as the photocopy machine. "But you have to pay salaries, and that's why the head of the yeshiva sometimes is forced to take out loans."

To support itself, the yeshiva goes to a variety of sources, but it will not accept money from everyone. For example, though it received almost \$80,000 during the same year from the Religious Affairs Ministry, it will not take any funds from the Education Ministry, a decision that is based on religious-historical motives.

The position dates back to the pre-state period during which such institutions would not take money from "the Zionists" who would insist that the language of instruction be Hebrew, not Yiddish.

"Once you start taking money from them, they have some control over you," the director says. "First they send in an inspector, then they tell you to use a certain text-book. No such danger is felt concerning the yeshiva section of the Religious

The givers and takers

Ha Shapiro

Affairs Ministry. "They never make demands," and all the paraphernalia, it's very difficult indeed.

Smaller sums come from other local agencies. The Jerusalem municipality provides \$11,000, the Joint Distribution Committee about \$2,500 and the Va'ad Hayeshivot, the local association of yeshivot, about \$6,000. The total sum given by the Jewish Agency to this yeshiva in 1984/85 was \$409.

Local contributors provide about \$14,000 and tuition fees of various sorts, including payment for transportation and meals, came to \$75,000. But the bulk of the income, almost \$220,000, was from contributors from abroad.

"The support of Tora study has always been the greatest form of *tzedaka*," the director says, "and if an observant Jew sets aside 10 per cent of his income, he is only doing what he is obliged to do. You don't need professional schnorrers to tell Orthodox people to give *tzedaka*. They take it seriously."

If a yeshiva goes to such a person, all it has to do is to show credibility. "They don't need a dinner to make them give."

But those blessed with both faith and financial success are small in number. Their names are well known to all the Tora institutions and there is lively competition for their support.

LIKE practically all institutions soliciting funds abroad, especially in the U.S., the yeshiva has a "friends" organization, with tax exempt status. A small amount comes from mailings, the traditional brown envelopes, and there are mailing lists which can be purchased.

Other money comes through the traditional *meshulahim* who go from door to door. But a "big giver" in this category, the director says, donates \$5 to \$18. Still, he adds, there are a few neighborhoods of New York that keep many Tora institutions going.

How big of a commission should a *meshulah* get? The critics say he takes it all. Rabbi Moshe Tannenbaum, director of the Va'ad Hayeshivot, says that an honest collector won't take more than 10 to 20 per cent and that even such a commission is more typical outside the U.S. in places where Jews are few and far between.

The head of the yeshiva himself goes out every year to raise funds, but his time is limited. If he stays away too long, he no longer is in contact with his yeshiva. Others go out as well, using friends and friends of friends as contacts.

Why do they give? Some might be interested in Tora, others in children, others might be thinking of their grandfather. Some may like the collector personally and hate to turn him down.

In return, the givers might have *kaddish* recited for their loved ones, or a plaque put up on the wall of the yeshiva. The giver might earmark his money for a student, a specific project or scholarship. Still, without women's groups, dinners, journals

served in the army, often in a besed yeshiva, or be part of the army *anda* programme, in which they commit themselves to extended army service after they complete their studies.

The founders of JCT, which began in an apartment in Bayit Vagan in 1971, included Prof. W.Z. Low, a noted physicist. Observant themselves, they saw yeshiva students as a reservoir of committed youngsters who could help supply the country with applied scientists and technicians.

They explained that each student is required to complete a practical project for industries and that backers are asked to "invest" in such projects. About 19 such projects have, in fact, paid off, including a "driver safety" programme, which has aroused interest in Israel and elsewhere in the world.

Looking for sources of funding, it has received a U.S.-Israel Cooperative Development Research grant of \$149,000 for a project to grow tomatoes in Peru.

THE VAST majority of donors are "Orthodox," they said, but they are "hard-nosed businessmen" who also give generously to the UJA, Aish and other "non-religious" causes. But they added that the donors cover the spectrum from the "very committed" to those "completely removed from Jewish life."

Using contacts and gatherings in organizations and clubs, they might expect contributions ranging from \$100 to "numbers in six figures." Though they are happy to put up plaques, or dedicate a day of study in someone's honour or memory, the JCT will not recite *kaddish* in return for a contribution.

Of the annual budget of \$4 million, 52 per cent came from the Israel government last year, while this year it will drop to some 45 per cent. The entire sum, they said, came as a grant from the Council for Higher Education.

Of the remaining funds, "over 90 per cent comes from abroad," but at least some of this money is from government and international agencies and organizations. There are offices in Toronto, New York and London, each with a paid secretary and a volunteer executive board. They estimate that fundraising costs about 9 per cent of the total raised.

The two stressed the importance of accountability, both to the donor and to the local government tax authorities. Sometimes this involves costly evaluating of donated equipment, but it is necessary.

Another problem is that of donors who are later revealed to be law breakers. The JCT will not knowingly take funds from someone who is known to engage in shady business practices, but because someone is arrested who was "generous to the Jewish people or the State of Israel, it doesn't mean we're crooks for having taken his money." If the JCT learns of any questionable activities "then we break off the relationship."

Regarding the yeshiva "rescue fund," Bet-El muses that "it seems to be giving a reward to those who followed bad business practices." Indeed, though both traditional yeshivot and the JCT promote Tora study, they present sharply contrasting images to the outside world. The one stresses its links with the past and even strikes a sentimental note, while the other emphasizes that it is striding quickly into the 21st century.

But as often as not, it is the very same people who give to both.

See "Army of the Lord," Magazine Edition, page 4)



The Joseph and Caroline Gruss community centre in Romema, Jerusalem.

Gruss millions

Walter Ruby/New York

THE HEAD of a New York agency that administers funds contributed to Jewish education by multi-millionaire Joseph Gruss and his late wife Caroline said this week that there is no truth to rumours that Caroline Gruss's will leaves as much as \$40 million for the support of yeshivot and other religious institutions in Israel.

Indeed, says Dr. Alvin Schiff, executive vice president of the Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York (BJE), it makes no provision for any money to go to educational institutions in Israel: Mrs. Caroline Gruss left all her money—believed to be more than \$25 million—for the support of Jewish education in Greater New York.

Joseph Gruss, 84, who is his wife's executor, told Schiff that he would not agree to be interviewed, but gave him permission to speak on his behalf.

Schiff's comments come on the heels of a statement by Abraham Fruchthandler, an executive member of the Ad-Hoc Committee to Help Yeshivot in Israel, denying news media reports from Israel that \$100m. would soon be made available for the support of Israeli yeshivot. According to these reports, \$50m. was to have come from Paul Reichman, a wealthy Canadian real-estate developer; \$40m. from the Caroline Gruss estate; and \$10m. from the rest of the world.

However, Fruchthandler issued a statement last week categorically denying "linking such efforts in Israel with particular families or with any specific amounts of money. The names, amounts, and other details that are being published in this connection about a new rescue fund for yeshivot in Israel are totally false and have been fabricated out of whole cloth."

A REPORT in last week's New York edition of the journal *Jewish Press* said the total sum likely to be allocated from Diaspora sources for Israeli yeshivot was expected to be in the range of \$1m. to \$5m. rather than the rumoured \$100m. The *Jewish Press* cited its Jerusalem bureau chief Aryeh Julius as warning that the reports of an imminent financial windfall were already having a deleterious effect on the Israeli yeshivot. According to Julius, "A lot of people who used to contribute money to the Israeli yeshivot have since stopped giving, since the yeshivot are now in good shape."

SCHIFF, who has administered the Joseph and Caroline Gruss grants since 1971, when the couple donated their first \$100,000 for renovations of New York yeshivot, estimates that the Grusses had already allocated approximately \$27m. for strengthening Jewish education in the New York area before Caroline's death in January, Schiff said, however, that Gruss was in process of allocating an additional \$25m. just before his wife died.

Schiff said that there is "more than \$25m." in the Caroline Gruss will, which means that something in the order of \$50m. of new Gruss money is now becoming available for Jewish education in New York.

Schiff emphasizes that while the bulk of the Gruss philanthropic fortune is devoted to that purpose, Gruss has also contributed generously to a number of Israeli reli-

gious, educational and cultural institutions. He has made major grants to Sha'are Zedek Hospital, Boys' Town Jerusalem, the Israel Museum, a vocational college in Israel, and kindergartens for Israeli Arab children. And when he came to Jerusalem last month for his wife's burial, Schiff says, he doled out many thousands of dollars to numerous individuals and institutions.

In the U.S., Schiff says, Gruss has given \$1m. or more to the Lubavitch Community, \$1 million to Yeshiva University, and the same amount to Squetown, a Hasidic community in upstate New York. He has also given as much as \$10m. to individual Jews, schools and yeshivot.

THE NOW reclusive Gruss and his wife, originally from Lemberg, Poland, came to the U.S. on a visit just before the outbreak of World War II, leaving their four-year-old daughter with relatives. The Nazi invasion of Poland made it impossible for them to rescue the child, and she disappeared in the Holocaust. Many believe that it was this that motivated the Grusses to contribute to Jewish education, and thus help to prevent further losses to Jewry through assimilation.

Gruss, who is said to have made much of his fortune in the oil business, was first brought together with Schiff in 1970 by Dr. Emanuel Rackman, then of New York's Yeshiva University and today president of Bar-Ilan University. As vice-president of the BJE, Schiff was able to convince the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York to put up a matching grant to Gruss's initial \$100,000 contribution for the renovation of deteriorating yeshiva buildings. Gruss was said to be pleased with the arrangement, and from 1971 to 1978 he himself donated more than \$2m.

In 1978, he came to an agreement with the Federation, which by that time had become more sympathetic than it had formerly been to the importance of supporting Jewish education, to set up the Fund for Jewish Education; to be administered by the BJE. Under the agreement, Gruss, the Federation and the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York would each contribute \$1m. per annum to the Fund. In 1981, Gruss upped his contribution to \$1.5m., which is matched each year by \$3m. from now merged UJA-Federation.

GRUSS MONEY has been spent not only on improving the physical condition of yeshivot, but also on upgrading Jewish education as a profession capable of attracting quality personnel. It has allowed many yeshivot, day schools and Hebrew schools to offer their teachers and administrators benefits such as life and medical insurance and pension plans.

One Gruss programme provides an annual \$10,000 prize to the outstanding teacher in each Jewish day school.

In addition, Gruss money has provided scholarships for children of families of modest means, including immigrant children from the Soviet Union, Iran and elsewhere. It is also being used for an ongoing advertising campaign and other techniques to reach out to unaffiliated Jews and encourage them to enrol their children in Jewish education programmes.

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Sundays: March 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, April 5, 1987
1:00-4:00 p.m. — (Instructor: Anita Kushner)
Lectures focus on the major trends in Jewish art. Field trips to the Israel Museum, art institutions, galleries and studios provide participants with a unique opportunity for dialogue with those directly involved in the making of art.
ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ORIGINS OF CULT
Wednesdays: March 11, 18, 25, April 1, 8, 1987
1:00-4:00 p.m. — (Instructor: David Ilan)
The course examines the archaeological evidence for cultic practices in ancient times, with emphasis on the interrelationship between Canaanite and Israelite cultic practices. Field trips to Israel Museum, Arad and Ein Gedi.
THEMES IN JEWISH ARCHITECTURE
Sundays May 17, 24, 31, June 7, 14, 21, 28, 1987
1:00-3:30 p.m. — (Instructor: Wendy Fulan)
In this course, we study the architecture of Jerusalem which has been built, destroyed and rebuilt more than any city in history. Topics include: wall arch domes; sacred space; field trips to major architectural sites.
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כדי להשיג

Nehru-Gandhi legacy

Israel-Indian relations have never been good and now they seem to be at their lowest ebb ever. The *Jerusalem Post's* Diplomatic Correspondent Benny Morris analyses the history and present-day effects of this situation.



ISRAEL-INDIAN relations are probably at their lowest ebb ever. In the wake of the assassination of Indian premier Indira Gandhi in October 1984, the PLO's office in Delhi has been expelled. Since 1982, most Israelis, tourists and officials, have more or less consistently been denied visas to India. There is practically no trade between the two countries. Indian representatives, at the UN and in other international organizations, regularly vote against Israel.

Their latest step was barring Israel's table tennis team from participating in the world championships now in progress in India.

Israeli officials regard this boycott merely as one more sign of the nadir reached in the relations between the two countries. They were not surprised: India has for decades consistently banned Israeli sports teams from participating in events there, even when other Israelis were given tourist visas.

In 1951, following recognition of the State of Israel, Delhi permitted Israel to open a consulate-general in Bombay. The Indian government was thus able to keep open a channel of communication to Jerusalem while maintaining vis-a-vis the Moslem world that it had no "diplomatic" ties with the Jewish state. The consulate was dismissed as a technical, commercial office. Nothing changed until 1982.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in

June of that year had a major detrimental effect on Delhi's relations with Jerusalem. In July, on the pretext that the consul, Yosef Hasseen, had criticized India's policy towards Israel, New Delhi expelled him. In 1983, when the vice-consul wound up his term and returned home, New Delhi refused to allow a replacement to reach Bombay. For a year, the consulate's security officer was Israel's chief representative in the country. Since 1982, India has also, by and large, stopped giving Israelis entry visas.

The present vice-consul, allowed in 1984, is not received by Foreign Ministry or any other government officials in Delhi, though he maintains contacts with officials of the Maharashtra state government and of Bombay municipality, and with the country's small Jewish community.

ISRAEL HAD hoped that relations would improve, perhaps considerably, in the wake of the assassination of Indian premier Indira Gandhi in October 1984. But Rajiv Gandhi, her successor, has dashed these hopes just as thoroughly as did the right-wing Janata Party-led government that ruled between the two terms of Indira's premiership in the late '70s. Earlier, while in opposition, Janata figures such as Atal Bihari Vajpayee (foreign minister in 1977-78) had advocated the establishment of such relations.

In 1978, former foreign minister Moshe Dayan visited Delhi secretly at the invitation of then premier Morarji Desai and tried to convince the Indians to establish full diplomatic relations. He failed. Two years later, the Indians awarded the PLO office in New Delhi full diplomatic status.

Israeli officials do not anticipate any drastic change in India's attitude in the foreseeable future, if only because the geo-political and religious factors that have always prevented the establishment of proper relations between the two countries

continue to dominate the sub-continent today. IN MAY 1949 Eliahu Elath, Israel's representative in Washington, cabled Tel Aviv after a meeting with Mrs. Vijaya Pandit, India's ambassador to the UN, who was the sister of India's founder and first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, that her brother had asked her to deliver the following message:

"The difficulties in India's relations with her Moslem neighbors and the problem of the 35 million Moslems in the country have compelled the government of

India to support the Arab position in our Middle East problem. The government of India had throughout followed with great sympathy our policy for independence and self-determination. She [Mrs. Pandit] informed [us] of her brother's plans to develop strong ties between India and Israel in various fields such as trade, culture, etc.

FIVE MONTHS later, on October 14, Elath met with Nehru himself. Elath said that Zionism had been influenced by the vision of India's

struggle for independence and expressed regret that India had not yet recognized Israel.

In reply, Elath reported "after announcing complete frankness, he explained India's attitude to Israel. People never anti-Semitic. Hitler made them friends of Jews. Many Indians admired in past Zionist work in Palestine and now most sympathetic Israel. He fully aware Israel, though small country, is important factor Mideast... India can learn much our achievements science, agriculture."

"Referred most critically Arab countries saying some lack reason exist at all. He called Egypt 'greatest insult to human decency' in treating her fellahin as animals... [But, given the problem of Pakistan] India must treat its 30 million Moslems carefully. Palestine was source constant agitation and made deep impression Moslems everywhere. He had to choose slow long way toward recognition... and minimize internal opposition."

NEHRU may have been speaking his mind. Or he may have been saying what Elath wanted to hear — and what would not antagonize over-much the two men's American hosts. (Their meeting was attended by U.S. Congressman Emanuel Celler and his wife.) India's need not to alienate the Moslem world in its continuing military-political dispute with Pakistan, or its own large Moslem minor-

ity, were understood and appreciated as factors that would logically distance Delhi from Israel.

But Israeli officials then, and over the following decades, continued to believe that Nehru's attitude to Israel was only in part governed by Indian ethnic realities and geo-political interests. They suspected that, in Nehru's anti-imperialist world view, Israel was seen as an adjunct and tentacle of the West implanted in the Third World and that his real sympathies went out to the Arabs and, more especially, the Palestinians.

Nehru may also have been motivated by a long-term, real-political/historical approach that saw Israel, whatever its contemporary strengths, as a small and weak state facing an enormous, hostile and potentially far stronger Arab mass. India, taking account of its long-term interests, must perform back the ultimate winner.

The rapid line-up in the 1950s of the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites alongside the Arabs in their conflict with Israel, and the Communist bloc's political support and arms for the non-aligned bloc, of which India was a leader, consolidated India's pro-Arab tilt.

Despite the world's changing political realities, Nehru's legacy, passed down to Indira Gandhi and, perhaps, through her to Rajiv, continues to govern India's relations with Israel.

JUST BEFORE Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir flew to America, he did his best to end the *broiges* developing with the other two members of the "prime ministers' club" — Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. They challenge his know-nothing claim of Israel's role in Irangate in a *Washington Post* interview. Peres wondered how then Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche — a key figure in Irangate — could have kept his boss in the dark. I'm told Shamir was very evasive on the subject to Peres and Rabin.

A source close to Shamir says he was referring to Irangate's second phase when Peres was PM and his counter-terrorism advisor Amiram Nir replaced Kimche. The precise quote from Shamir's interview was: "I take full responsibility with my colleagues irrespective of whether I knew or not."

Peres's people think Shamir regards an ostrich-like, know-nothing posture to be the safest course at time of crisis — witness his conduct during the Lebanon war, and the Shin Bet affair. Their boss, taking over as acting premier with gusto, declined a *Washington Post* interview, so as not to discomfit Shamir on his U.S. trip.

ILLUSTRATING HIS criticism of our ministers' opting for Iran in its war with Iraq (except for Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman), Tel Aviv University Dayan Centre Iranian expert, Dr. David Menashri tells the anecdote: A spectator at a boxing match drew attention when loudly urging one contestant to bash the other in the first round, shouting the same to his rival in the second round. When his neighbour questioned his shifting loyalties, the man explained: "I don't really care who

wins. You see, I'm a dentist." Menashri thought that should be Israel's position in the Gulf war, though if we had to take sides, backing Iraq would be preferable to backing Iran.

AS THE INTERNATIONAL peace conference issue waits as a coalition time bomb for Shamir's return, MK Simha Dinitz offers an explanation why Shamir and his fellow Herutniks — who agreed to an international umbrella in the past — now oppose it. "They're scared less of an international conference, and more of its effect on the Herut convention," he remarks.

ARYE MEKEL, the PM's assistant on political affairs — one of the few Shamir staffers minding the store — sees the award to Israel of major, non-Nato ally status, during his boss's visit, as the logical outcome of the strategic co-operation agreement reached with President Ronald Reagan in November 1983 — during Shamir's first visit as premier to Washington. Mekel wryly holds that Israel's "promotion" should be to a general — rather than major — non-Nato ally.

THE HIGHLIGHT OF Galei Zahav's celebration of the Knesset's 38th birthday was the very public *sulha* between those two *enfans terribles* of Israeli politics — CRM's Yossi Sarid and Tehiya's Geula Cohen, who broke their publicized *broiges* whilst anchor men of its "Good Morning Israel" talk show. When Cohen mentioned how she started smoking when battling against the evacuation of Yamit, Sarid shot back with "I lit my first cigarette the first day of the Lebanon war."

Army Radio reporter Micha Cohen recalled the day when a planned interview with Agudat Israel's

The evasive ostrich



SIMHA DINITZ



YOSI SARID



ORA NAMIR

Avraham Shapira was cancelled because the portly MK was unable to squeeze through the doorway of their temporary Knesset studio.

ECONOMICS AND Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi must have strong nerves. Peres kept him on tenterhooks for months on whether he would become our next ambassador to the U.S. Just before flying to the U.S. Shamir assured him of his support, warning that current Labour-Likud tensions would delay any announcement. Meanwhile, musical chair — like lobbying has begun in Labour — coalition executive chairman Rafi Edri wants Ya'acobi's cabinet seat, and Weizman wants his portfolio, with the next on the Alignment list. Ya'acobi, already announcing his plans once he's back in the Knesset.

IT NOW LOOKS as if inter-Herut struggles may foil Ya'acobi

dreaming his coalition reform bill in the Knesset, hedging on the clauses for election campaigns and short-term period between public resignation and entering office. It appears that they're policy pressure. From Deputy Prime Minister Housing Minister David Mizliani led by Likud Knesset leader Haim Kausman.

ES IS COMING under increasingly vocal criticism in Labour's recent tactics — firstly, his explicit promotion of Ya'acobi to State Comptroller — ensuring a Likud walk-over. Last week, a range of speakers at the

party leadership bureau — like WZO Settlement Department head Nissim Zivli, student leader David Refler and ex-justice minister Haim Zadok rapped his strategy over aid to the kibbutzim. The latter wondered why Labour had not made a joint front for aid to kibbutzim, moshavim and development towns, isolating the Likud on extra money for Gush Emunim settlements.

THERE IS A revived struggle between Labour's hawkish and dovish wings. Three cabinet ministers — Haim Bar-Lev (Police), Ya'acov Tsur (Absorption) and Aryeh Nehama (Agriculture), Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hilel and United Kibbutz Movement Secretary Aharon Yadin appeared at the hawkish "mainstream ideological circle" rally in Tel Aviv, chaired by Simha Dinitz. "The silent majority wants to bring the party back to its traditional mainstream," Dinitz explained to me.

The party's doves, led by Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee chairman Abba Eban, met at Tel Aviv's Dan Hotel in advance of a larger rally planned for mid-March. New party member, Ezer Weizman warned: "Only by disbanding the national unity government can we save the peace process." Those present included Knesset social services and labour committee Ora Namir, and MKs Rabbi Menachem Hacohen, Nava Arad, Aharon Harel, Yitzhak Artzi plus Lova Elav. Eban attacked his party leaders' promotion of "Jordanization" of the West Bank, declaring "We must talk to true Palestinian representatives."

YITZHAK and Leah Rabin got many *mazel tov* for the marriage of daughter Dalia to Avi Peisoff, the well-known industrialist (the second for both), at a dinner party given by Ora Namir at her Tel Aviv home. Also there were Arad coalition chairman Avraham (Baiga) Shohat — like Namir, a Rabin supporter — and his wife Tami, youngest daughter of late premier Levi Eshkol, Academy of Sciences president Prof. Yehoshua Yortner, author Shlomo Shava and actress-wife Zaharai Harifai and Tel Aviv District Court Judge Hadassa Ben-Itai, who dwelt on judges' horrendous working conditions.

PRESIDENT Chaim Herzog has come in for praise for standing firm against Gush Emunim pressures for six months to grant a blanket pardon to the six members of the Jewish terrorist underground still in jail. He did make known his readiness to study their pleas, but only after Gush radicals like Rabbi Moshe Levinger and Daniel Weiss ended their vigils outside the homes of Shamir and Peres. His stance paid off — they ended their demos this week and the Gush has split, with Haim Porat

and Yoel Bin-Nun challenging Levinger's leadership. Even in Tehiya, MKs Rafael (Rafal) Eltan and Rabbi Eliezer Waldman opposed Geula Cohen's support of Levinger's campaign.

B'NAI B'RITH WORLD Centre chairman Fred Worms tells me that on a recent Shabbat morning stroll past the PM's residence, he noted Levinger and others picketing the house. On his post-lunch return, he found the picket had dwindled to one woman, dressed in the Orthodox fashion. The demonstrator, who declined to give her name, said she was a non-Jewish, American visitor sympathetic to Levinger's cause. Worms, an Anglo-Jewish leader belonging to an Orthodox congregation, thought it strange that Levinger & Co. should employ a *shabbos goya* in this context. Worms's current visit was to arrange the Pierre Gildesgame memorial lecture at Tel Aviv Museum on March 26, for which he is flying over art historian David Sylvester. He is also chairman of the sports museum named after Pierre Gildesgame, whom he succeeded as Maccabi World Union chairman.

IF YOU'RE SEEKING our own Sir Humphreys and their underlings in the next ten weeks on Wednesdays, don't! They'll be at the Hebrew University's Martin Buber Adult Education Institute attending a seminar on political culture in Israel — touching on "the influence of the media" and "the street and the shechina as moulders of political culture." There are participants like Finance Ministry Director-General Prof. Emanuel Sharon, Income Tax Commissioner Yair Rabinovitch and acting Jerusalem District Representative Eli Souissa, who could certainly tell the lecturers a thing or two.

THE POLITICAL establishment is now split assunder over speculation on a possible international conference which would culminate (hopefully) in the Middle East peace. The nub is whether such a peace conference would lead to (1) direct negotiations or (2) indirect negotiations between Israel and the Arabs.

In the event of (1), Israel would be satisfied. Presumably the Arab side prefers (2). But a further question remains. Should the negotiations about holding such an international conference (with its negotiations) be conducted (1) directly between the parties or (2) indirectly between the parties.

Israel presumably prefers (1) direct negotiations. The Arab side (reasoning from its position as set forth in paragraph two, *supra*) prefers alternative (2).

From past experience, (2) indirect negotiations (let us for clarity designate them preliminary indirect negotiations as distinguished from the final indirect or direct negotiations) will be necessary at this point.

Yet if preliminary indirect negotiations leading to (1) final direct negotiations or (2) final indirect negotiations are to succeed, what may be needed is (3) a third party country whose tradition vis-a-vis such preliminary proceedings would provide the optimum possibility of success with respect to such an endeavour. There are, to be sure, the Moroccans or the Romanians who (1) have served or (2) are rumoured to have served in this capacity in the past. However, in the present delicate situation, it may be time to put out all the stops, if I may descend to the vernacular.

The art of indirectness

Laughing it off/Larry Lefkowitz

When indirectness springs mind — or perhaps filters into — are are a more apt image. There are two possible master practitioners of the art who could be called upon for assistance: (1) the Japs and (2) the British.

Let us begin with (1) Japanese. Japanese indirectness is classic. Anyone who has ever attended a Japanese tea-ceremony can attest to the nature of sub progression. Perhaps the Arab and Israel could be inveigled such a ceremony, at a Japs electronics

trade fair, for instance. By the time the laborious process is over and tea actually drunk or sipped or even tasted, the two (or more) representatives would be ready to negotiate, hardly being in a state to procrastinate any longer.

The above process may be too excruciating to subject Israel and Arab representatives to, especially as the Arabs moved from tea to coffee some decades back and the Israelis might not sit still long enough to drink tea from a cup escorted in a saucer. To wait so long

to drink tea is contrary to the Arab tradition to have the pot on the fire when the guests arrive, nor would Israeli patience survive being so put to the test.

Accordingly, the (2) British remain the last hope if the peace conference is ever to come to fruition.

The (2) British practice of the art of indirectness is less tortuous than that of the (1) Japanese, and it possesses the advantage of obviating the need for bowing, a Japanese preliminary which not only consumes

time as the parties are forced to match bow for bow, in depth as well as frequency, with the concomitant result of causing backaches to occidentals, in which category for a change the usually-considered Eastern Arabs and Israelis would be thus joined, allowing them at least to be together in the same classificational basket.

The British approach to indirectness is not, however, untroubled with certain perils, of which the foremost is the danger of negotiations bogging down over trifles before the real give and take over indirectness can really begin. (This is a historical legacy from the days of Elizabeth (1) who so cowed anyone approaching her that the British have been hemming and hawing ever since.) Such questions as table size and shape, the presence or absence of ashtrays, the

type of cigarettes, or whether a nagilla is to be allowed, the decor of the room, hall, or auditorium, the dress of the participants, as well as the order of seating must all be sorted out.

Such acrobatics the Japanese tea-ceremony avoids since its ritual and setting have been invariably fixed for a thousand years and anyone violating the minutest requirement is expected to commit *suppeku* on the spot. A development fatal to negotiations by rendering them unilateral.

Perhaps the preferred procedure would be to avoid an international conference and let the parties each move a chair onto the Allenby Bridge. Provided the exact midpoint can be agreed on. The negotiations to determine this can be either direct or...

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Stranger in our midst

Teleview / Philip Gillon



Sana Hassan (K. Weiss)

THE DECISION of the producers of *This is the Time* to devote an entire programme to Ram Evron's interview of Sana Hassan, the Egyptian writer and journalist, was without precedent. Some conservative people may think that the decision was unjustified, because obviously it played ducks and drakes with the framework of the programme. But I see no reason why precedents and frameworks should be sacrosanct. I for one found that Hassan provided us with a fascinating hour.

Her book, just translated from English into Hebrew, is entitled *Enemy in the Promised Land*. Robert Burns expressed the wish: "O wad some Power the giftie gie us to see ourselves as ithers see us!" Many of us have had a similar desire, although in less broad Scots. Here, Ram Evron gave us an opportunity to see ourselves through the eyes of somebody brought up to regard Israelis as devils, who came to live among us and learned eventually to love us.

It gave me the very smug feeling that, if only everyone in the world would stop misunderstanding us and regarding us in terms of stereotypes and clichés, they would all end up adoring us, and thinking we are as wonderful as we ourselves think we are, however appallingly we behave.

Hassan comes from a very rich and powerful Egyptian upper-class family, and was a member of Egypt's intellectual elite. She spent years in an American university. She was brought up never to do a stroke of work — indeed, she said, she had never even talked to a servant, let alone performed any of a servant's chores.

At the age of five she became interested in finding out about the monsters that she thought Israelis to be. By the time she was an adolescent, after the Six Day War, getting to Israel had become an obsession.

After much travail, she got a visa from the consul in Boston, and arrived here in 1974, to be greeted at Lod by the official who examined her Egyptian passport with an exclamation that astonished her — "Ya Allah!"

SOME PEOPLE have told me that they were put off by Hassan's TV personality, that they found her intolerably in love with herself, and very affected. I had a completely different reaction. I found her charming, extremely intelligent, honest and with a wise sense of humour that she never hesitated to direct against herself.

Thus, her description of her reac-

tion to being put to work in the cowshed of the kibbutz where she settled was hilarious. Here was a young woman who had never put a finger in cold water suddenly transformed into a servant of the cattle.

We gathered that her reaction to kibbutz life was to have two love affairs, one with a man whom she subsequently learned was an officer in the Israeli army, the other with a woman.

She claimed that most people are bisexual and don't know it. I could not help wondering whether her two lovers had been ordered by the Security Services to have affairs with her.

Somebody whose opinion I value told me that he was horrified by Hassan's saying that, at the time of the Munich massacre, her hatred of Israel was so intense that she exulted, and wished that more Israelis had been murdered. Anybody saying so monstrous a thing as that she welcomed the murder by terrorists of innocent civilians, he declared, should never be forgiven.

I think he was misled by the hyperbole she used in order to make her basic point that it is easy to hate a nation or a race or a group if we stick to stereotypes, and therefore we have to get to know our so-called enemies as individual human beings. It is not exactly a novel thesis, but it is a very valid one, as she herself has certainly proved.

Hassan's passport was confiscated by the Egyptian authorities in 1974, and it took her nearly a decade to get it back, so she has remained a stranger in our midst. I hope that she has been treated as Naomi was.

SOMEBODY telephoned me to warn me not to look at Jordan Television on Tuesday night, because they were putting on a vicious anti-Israel film, *Courage Along the Di-*

vide, made by a self-hating Englishman Victor Schonfeld. Naturally, human nature what it is, I made certain that the film, and I must confess was profoundly shocked by it because of its lack of objectivity. I found it hard to think of the occupation of the West Bank.

Certainly he made no pretence of presenting an opposite Israeli point of view, or of showing cause and effect: the refusal of the Arabs to come to terms with the Jews, the launching of wars against us, the terrorist attacks. But these things are irrelevant to his thesis, which is the terrible damage inflicted on both Jews and Arabs by the occupation.

Prof. Yeshayahu Leibowitz, appearing on the film in a debate about whether Israelis of conscience should refuse to serve in the occupied areas, said: "The occupation is corrupting the national soul."

That this is true was made abundantly clear by the shots of our soldiers as tyrants, apparently obtained from the BBC or Visnews, to judge from the credits at the end of the film. These showed young Israeli soldiers beating up youngsters and degrading old people.

Lawyer Felicia Langer quoted chapter and verse to prove that the law applied to the Arabs in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is different from that applied in any civilized country, quite apart from there being no democracy in these disfranchised areas. Meir Pa'il compared the occupied areas to Northern Ireland and South Africa. In some ways, however, the occupation is worse.

SOME TIME ago I wrote that slavery corrupts the slave-owner even more than the slave. There was a time when Moshe Dayan bluffed the world that the occupation was humane, that it was accepted, even welcomed, by the majority of the population, because it brought so many economic benefits. Since Dayan's day we have seen the iron hands of Moshe Arens and Yitzhak Rabin making us objects of loathing and contempt.

Perhaps I am wrong: I have been wrong before. I trust that Israel Television will have the courage to show us this film, and to come up with the answers (if there are any answers), explaining the shots of the brutality of the regime, and providing credible defences to the charges made by Langer, Pa'il and Professor Leibowitz.

A Knesset committee is this coming week to discuss allegations of a certain financier's improper donations to a certain political party. Not that there is any parallel, heaven forbid, but one is reminded of the following story by satirist Ephraim Kishon, published in *The Jerusalem Post* on April 4, 1975. Reprinted with the cooperation of the author.

"Do sit down, Mr. Director-General."

"Thank you. Two teas, waiter."

"Now we can talk undisturbed."

"Quite."

"Nice weather, isn't it?"

"Very nice."

"Pity it's raining so hard."

"Yes. The weatherman predicts snow."

"Mm. So what's new?"

"Nothing. We're about to start the new 12-storey Food, and Intangibles Centre, of which I happen to be the director-general."

"Really? Talk of coincidence! I sent happens to be bidding the contract."

"I say, Mr. Director-General, that we would consider this project a true national mission."

"Valuable of you."

"Have you decided whom you're to give the job to?"

The Director-General (Excerpt for this week is 8:1-20:23)

"ON THE MORNING of the third day there was thunder and lightning, with a thick cloud over the mountain, and a loud trumpet blast. Everyone in the camp trembled. Then Moses led people out of the camp to meet God, and they stood at the foot of the mountain. Mount Sinai was covered with smoke, because the Lord descended on it in fire. The smoke billowed up from it like smoke from a furnace, the whole mountain trembled violently, and the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder" (Exodus 20:16-19).

After this gripping buildup of suspense and tension, the Ten Words (that is how they're called in Scripture, and not the dramatic "ten commandments" were finally heard, they may have caused a real let-down and disillusion. Was that all God had to say? "God!" where were the profound theological insights one would expect from the Omnipotent Lord Himself? There were the lofty and elevating expressions, the "meaningful" and quotable statements befitting an "exciting" event?

Instead of all this, some simple prosaic utterances, plain words: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of Egypt... Remember the Sabbath day. You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal... You shall not covet your neighbour's house," and all the rest.

Looking back to the event at Sinai from a distance of some 3,300 years, we realize that the greatness of those words was perhaps in their stark simplicity. It was precisely this most basic and unembellished truth which they conveyed, that made them the cornerstone of any system of morality and ethics that we may have been groping for up to this very day.

Jewish tradition over the past 33 centuries saw these "simple" Ten Words as the quintessence of all of Judaism. They represented a kind of microcosm within which were con-

The Professional Touch

KISHON RE-VISITED

"Not yet. Why do you ask?"

"Nothing. I just remembered someone on the management of my company saying this morning that a less scrupulous building firm than our own might well consider offering a sizeable donation to the party of which you yourself, I believe, are a prominent member."

"Indeed? Well, I'm sure you would reject such an offer out of hand."

"Of course. I never thought otherwise. Though just as a matter of academic interest, what would have been the exact amount your party would reject out of hand?"

"I've no idea. The point is, you see, that only the other day my party executive failed to make a concrete proposal about linking

the building contract to a \$325,000 donation, cash. So I don't see much sense in exploring the matter further, do you?"

"Certainly not. The more as my company, even if it were mad enough to get itself involved in such a criminal offence, would probably not be ready to go beyond \$200,000 in three equal instalments."

"Well, this is all quite hypothetical, but I do seem to remember that my party and I have received rather more handsome offers than that, and have of course refused them with abhorrence."

"Naturally. Well, I agree you get these unreliable companies that offer you a chance for greater refusal, but a solid and responsible firm like mine can't afford any higher abhorrence

than that."

"We all have to know the limits of our unreliability."

"Right you are. In that case, do you feel your party could work up enough abhorrence to refuse \$250,000?"

"Is that your final offer for rejection?"

"I'm afraid so."

"Then I hardly think my party will consider rejecting it."

"Mm. May I add that this imaginary sum does not include our contribution to private funds."

"Meaning me?"

"God forbid!"

"Now, look here, my friend — party matters are one thing, but if you get personal I must say: enough! I hope you don't believe that I, a civil servant, am willing to hand out favours for a mere two-storey villa with tennis court?"

"Where?"

"Near the beach. Herzliya, say. Not too far from the highway, if possible. I need not tell you that I would consider such an offer as a personal insult of the worst kind."

"Absolutely."

"So I think we had better forget the whole thing."

"Uhu. When shall we meet again?"

"Tuesday. Here. With the final rejections."

truth," and finally, "You shall not covet your fellow human's house" in the Ten Words and "You shall write them upon the doorposts of your house" (and not your fellow human's house) in the Sh'ma.

MEANING WAS sought not only in the words themselves but also in the order in which they appear upon the tablets and in the fact that there were two tablets and not one. According to one interpretation, each tablet included five "words" or "commandments." The first five, on one tablet, were directed to Israel, the other five on the second tablet applied to all the nations of the world (Pesikta rabati, 21). Another source sees one tablet including laws concerning the relationship between humans and God, while the other contains laws between man and man. "Honour your father and mother" appears at the end of the first column and thus serves as a connecting link between the two realms.

What both tablets have in common, however, is that they are both addressed in the second person singular, to stress that the laws were not legislated "in general," but were meant for "you" as an individual. Even at that grandiose moment of the theophany, when the entire cosmos was orchestrated to participate in the giving of the Torah, the individual person was not lost or forgotten. He, or she, as one person, remained at the centre of God's revelation to humanity.

Of all the Words, there is only one that concludes with a threat of punishment: "You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord would not clear one who misuses His name" (20:7). God is ready to forgive the sinner who knows and everyone else knows that he is a sinner. Yet, he would not forgive the person who pretends to act in the name of God and religion. Use of the name of God in vain as a cover for private or communal sin, superstition or fight, may mislead and fool people, but of all the ten commandments this is the one that would not be condoned by God.

League (WACL) and the Northern League set up by *Mankind Quarterly* editor Roger Pearson and his Nazi "race scientist" Hans Günther. There is an infamous Institute for Historical Review (IHR), Focus Policy Group, WISE (Wales, Ireland, Scotland and England) organization, and many other similar groups and organizations. The British, French, German and American New Right groups exchange information, organize congresses and generally support and believe in each other.

BUT IN addition to the hard-core lunatic fringe which has scored so many successes recently, there is also a less dangerous, soft-variant of neo-Nazism. David Irving is too smart to deny the Holocaust, but he suggests that Hitler was hardly aware of the "Final Solution." An extremely prolific British writer he offers but a brief and misleading version of the Wannsee conference. In his *Uprising* published in 1981 he claims that the 1956 Hungarian uprising was sparked off by anti-Semitism and by the fact that it was Jews who held all the key jobs in the hated regime. In the *Deutsche National Zeitung* (Oct. 5, 1984) he is cited as an authority who could rehabilitate the notorious Julius Streicher, the editor of *Der Stürmer* who was hung at Nuremberg.

Stark simplicity

Tora Today / Pinhas H. Peli

tained all of the 613 precepts of the Torah, the 365 negative commandments as well as the 248 positive ones. "Proof" of this, according to one Midrash (Numbers Raba 18, 21), is to be found in the fact that the number of the Hebrew letters engraved on the stone tablets which contained the Ten Words amounts to 613! (Actually, there are 620 letters, the remaining 7 reserved for the added rabbinic *d'rabanon* precepts.)

Beyond this gematria speculation, there was an ongoing intellectual enterprise spread over many generations of the greatest Jewish minds in an effort to fathom the depth of the Ten Words which occupy the centre point of the entire Torah. Were they indeed the "general rules" (*klalim*) from which all the "details" (*pratim*) branch out, as was suggested already by the earliest Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE-40 CE)? If so, how do we get from the 10 to the 613?

This question occupied the minds of many rabbis, thinkers and poets. Midrashic, talmudic and liturgical literature is replete with their answers, as they examine again and again the two tablets of the law (ch. according to the story, were in to Moses from on high. It got to point where some of the early found it necessary to play down the importance of the Ten Words lest they be preferred over and above the rest of Torah, an idea which would have gained ground among certain heretical sects during the centuries.

The phenomenon caused their exclusion in the order of the daily services, which they were originally an integral part of (See Mishna, Tamid 5.1 and Tosefta E.E. Urbach's enlightening research on the subject

in his *Hazal - Emunot v'Deot*, 316ff.).

DESPITE THEIR reservations, the early rabbis as well as their followers in future generations spared no effort in exploring the depths of meaning inherent in the apparently simple text engraved on the two tablets of the law.

It has not been too hard to find other core texts of Torah which echo the original Ten. For instance, isn't the portion calling on Israel to be holy, in Leviticus 19, a kind of "replica" or "outgrowth" of the Ten Words? For that matter, even after the Ten Words were dropped from the daily service as a companion to the Sh'ma, they were still there, if not explicit, then implicit in the texts of the Sh'ma itself.

Thus, according to the Jerusalem Talmud (B'rakhot 1.8) the very reason why the Sh'ma portions are read daily is because they "include" the Ten Words. "I am the Lord your God" is represented in Sh'ma with "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God" (Deuteronomy 6:4). "You shall have no other gods besides me" is represented by "is One God" (ibid.). "You shall not misuse the name of the Lord" in the Words, is paralleled with "You shall love the Lord" in the Sh'ma. "Remember the Sabbath day" is paralleled with "that you may remember" of the Sh'ma text (Numbers 15:40). "Honour your father and your mother" — in the Words, "that your days may be multiplied" in the Sh'ma (Deut. 11:21). "You shall not murder" — "And you perish quickly from the good land." "You shall not commit adultery" — "that you seek not after your own heart and your own eyes." "You shall not steal" — "You shall gather in thy corn" (and not someone else's). "You shall not give false testimony" — "The Lord your God is

NEO-NAZI ATTEMPTS to deny the Holocaust may seem both bizarre and unbelievable but such propaganda is spreading. The various neo-Nazi fringe groups receive support from different Arab sources and are becoming legitimate partners in various political parties and social organizations.

The Nazi axiom that if you tell a lie often enough people will believe it, succeeded in its time. These days, an avalanche of neo-Nazi books, pamphlets and comments have flooded the market showing that the basic philosophy and formula remains unchanged.

A lecturer at Britain's Bradford University, Gill Seidel, has pointed out that today's lunatic fringe may become a major political asset tomorrow. The denial of the Holocaust is no longer a pathetic attempt to rehabilitate National Socialism and Hitler but rather an open invitation to revive the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

Neo-Nazis believe that the West needs a shock, a reawakening, to become a huge fertile ground for their ideas. They seem to be waiting for a more suitable political or economic crisis to stir the public imagination with well-prepared propaganda based on new racial "discoveries" and a well-ried revival of ancient deeply-seated religious prejudices.

Numerous Nazi "objective" writers after history, deny Jewish resistance and skillfully exonerate the Allies from their responsibility of having closed their eyes to genocide. They ease the conscience of those Western officials who failed to accept Jewish refugees or refused to bomb Auschwitz.

THE INITIAL neo-Nazi programme was "best" presented in 1951 by Maurice Bardèche, a leading fascist theoretician and literary critic who founded *Defense de L'Occident* (Defense of the West), the theoretical

Old-new lies



Neo-Nazi literature at an open-air stand in Valencia, Spain. (David Rubinger)

Alexander Zvielli

journal of French fascism. Bardèche was one of the first to claim that history had been falsified and that the Allies were guilty of war crimes. He also insisted that the photographs and testimonies of concentration camps victims were "no good to be true."

According to Bardèche, the Germans were engaged in a preventive war because the Treaty of Versailles was tantamount to their enslavement. Gas was used in extermination camps only for disinfection purposes — the deaths there were pri-

marily due to food shortages and epidemics. The Final Solution referred to the establishment of ghettos in the East and it was wrong to be incensed with any Jewish deed, it was the Jews who caused the

Bardèche's initial apology for Nazism has been constantly revised and improved on by a veritable army of academic editors who freely "quid" from each other, thus setting a suitable framework for a new pseudo-science. Their literary and scientific outpourings were then accepted, printed and distributed by a new neo-Nazi international network comprising among many others the World Anti-Communist

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SOCCER PREVIEW

Betar are first among unequals

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. — A clear lowering of tension will mark this weekend's league soccer, following the needle matches at the top of the National League in the past two weeks and the big money at stake in Sportoto prizes.

Since Betar Jerusalem have virtually won up this season's league championship, the main issues at stake are for the runner-up place and who will avoid relegation. No fewer than eight clubs are divided by only three points, in places 2 to 9, and that is where the shuffling in positions will take place. Unlike the Premier of England, according to a TV film, Betar are first among unequals.

At the Bloomfield Stadium, Maccabi Tel Aviv, who are second on goal differential, play in the 1 p.m. game against Hapoel Beersheba. Despite their climb up the table, the Tel Avivians have not been all that impressive, and they may be without Avi Cohen in the centre of their defence, because of an injury he

suffered against Northern Ireland on Wednesday. Still, with Eli Dricks, veterans Benny Tabak and Moshe Gariani, and the promising Alon Nathan in the line-up, they should have a narrow edge over 12th placed Beersheba.

In the main game, at 3 p.m. at the same venue, Hapoel Tel Aviv entertain Hapoel Kfar Sava. After an awful start to the season, the reigning champions Hapoel Tel Aviv have shown improved form, though coach David Schweitzer still badly lacks a goalgetter. Fifteen goals in 17 league matches are hardly what champions are made of.

Hapoel Kfar Sava started the season in great style but have lost much of their early lustre. They have scored 23 goals, and, if Eli Yanni, Nis-har, Ravivo and Simon return to their best form tomorrow, they could pull off a win.

At the Hatikva Quarter, unbeaten Bnei Yehuda play a derby game against Betar Tel Aviv. Bnei Yehuda have drawn no fewer than 12 of their 17 matches, but they have only

managed to score 20 goals, which is only three goals more than 13th place Betar have scored. It would suggest that this match will be a closer thing than the relative league positions of these teams indicates. Betar's wily Nissim Cohen may hold the key to this encounter in midfield, as Bnei Yehuda's strikers Moshe Eisenberg, Ehud Ben Tovim and David Gordana have looked jaded in recent games.

Maccabi Haifa have dropped Zahi Armeli in the wake of his being left out of the national team. So it will be up to Daniel Brailowsky, Baruch Maman and Moshe Selektor to provide the goals to beat Shimshon at the Kiriyat Eliezer stadium.

Other National League fixtures: Maccabi Petah Tikva v Betar Netanya at Petah Tikva today 3 p.m.
Maccabi Netanya v Maccabi Jaffa at Netanya today 3 p.m.
Maccabi Yavne v Betar Jerusalem at Yavne tomorrow 3 p.m.
Hapoel Petah Tikva v Hapoel Lod at Petah Tikva tomorrow 3 p.m.
In the main game in the Second Division, Hapoel Jerusalem is at home tomorrow against league leaders Hapoel Haifa.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Irish take Scots to the cleaners

GLASGOW (AFP). — Scotland hit rock-bottom as the Republic of Ireland's hopes of qualifying for the finals of the European Championship reached new heights here on Wednesday night.

The Irish, who gained a commendable draw in Belgium last autumn, went one better in Scotland. Mark Lawrenson's seventh minute goal lifted them into a three-way tie at the top of Group Seven.

As the Scots sank to a new level of mediocrity in front of 45,000 disgruntled fans, Ireland took their total to four points from three games with a performance brimming with aggression and skill.

The loss of their first goal in the competition cost Scotland their unbeaten record and took them to the halfway point in the eight-game qualifying campaign, with a miserly four points, and with two treacherous away games to Belgium and Bulgaria ahead of them.

Scots manager Andy Roxburgh had admitted that his side would have "an Everest to climb" if they were beaten — and Roxburgh must now feel like scaling that mountain and throwing himself off it.

Only in the closing ten minutes did Scotland finally discover some of the fire and passion which had been missing from their play — the same crucial ingredients which won the game for Ireland in the opening 10 minutes.

Republic of Ireland manager, Jack Charlton, said after the game to the Irish journalists who had criticised his selection of Mark Lawrenson in midfield: "You've all got to eat humble pie over Mark Lawrenson. He's a hell of a player anywhere."

In Madrid, England scoring-machine Gary Lineker kept up his remarkable production rate with all



BETTER AND BETTER. Gary Lineker, shown in the picture celebrating his third goal for England against Poland in last year's World Cup, scored four against Spain on Wednesday night (AFP photo)

four goals in his country's 4-2 win over Spain in a friendly.

The Barcelona striker's deadly finishing sealed a thoroughly impressive England performance, with Glenn Hoddle creative and imposing in midfield, and new-boy Tony Adams sure-footed at the back.

Lineker's four-goal haul, two in each half after Emilio Butragueno had given the home side an early

lead, was his best-ever for England and the perfect birthday present for manager Bobby Robson, who turned 54.

Lineker's fireworks were enough to warm the tiny England contingent, herded into an enclosure at one end of the Santiago Bernabeu Stadium after a pre-match brawl outside the ground in which three visiting supporters were stabbed.

In Swansea, Welsh striker Mark Hughes gave Juventus chairman Giampiero Boniperti a tantalising sight of his aggressive skills as his injury-ravaged country held the Soviet Union to a goalless draw in a friendly game here.

Boniperti officially flew in from Turin to check on the welfare of the Italian club's £3.2m. investment from Liverpool, Ian Rush. Rush is scheduled to join Juventus in the summer.

But Barcelona striker Hughes overshadowed Rush, and must have tempted Boniperti to try to grant Rush's wish to have his Welsh colleague playing alongside him for Juventus next season.

The Juventus supremo saw the pair underline their understanding and extend their unbeaten international partnership to nine games.

Indeed, Hughes stabbed a shot past Soviet goalkeeper Viktor Charnov after 31 minutes, but his delight turned to disappointment, when he was adjudged to have used unfair force in exposing a chink in the iron curtain.

Wales manager Mike England commented: "We were all disappointed. Had it been allowed, it would have opened the game up in the second-half."

Hughes shrugged off that setback and continued to torment a team containing nine players from Soviet champions Dynamo Kiev.

NBA

Celtics win with a vengeance

NEW YORK (AP). — The Dallas Mavericks caught the Boston Celtics at a bad time.

The Celtics came into Dallas Wednesday night with a two-game losing streak and something to prove. They left with an impressive 113-96 victory over the Mavericks.

"After losing two in a row and playing as poorly as we did, (coach) K.C. Jones really got on us," said Kevin McHale, who led the Celtics with 28 points. "He doesn't yell too often, so when he did we got our tails in gear."

The defending NBA champions had suffered a 20-point loss to Utah and blown a 17-point lead against the Los Angeles Lakers in their two previous games.

The Celtics got 25 points from Danny Ainge and 14 from Robert Parish.

Dallas were led by Mark Aguirre with 29 points and Sam Perkins with 22. Maverick's guard Derek Harper missed his first game of the season because of an infected left foot.

Elsewhere, it was the Cleveland Cavaliers 129, Sacramento Kings 119; Indiana Pacers 105, Seattle SuperSonics 88; Philadelphia 76ers 114, Golden State Warriors 103; Los Angeles Lakers 128, Denver Nuggets 122; Milwaukee Bucks 113, Utah Jazz 109.

TENNIS

Bad boy Boris

INDIAN WELLS, Calif. (Reuter). — Boris Becker struggled to master blustery conditions and his own temperament as he beat American Tim Wilkison to reach the third round of the Indian Wells Men's Tennis Classic here.

Clearly frustrated by his own mistakes, the second seed threw several tantrums and repeatedly berated himself and umpire Rudi Berger, also a West German, although he managed to beat his unseeded rival 7-5, 6-4.

Becker, beaten by Wally Masur in a stormy fourth round tie in the Australian Open last month, said afterwards: "A lot of people saw that match in Melbourne. Today everyone was watching for everything I was saying and every gesture I was making."

OTHER RESULTS: Todd Witsken b. Jimmy Arias 6-4, 6-3; Mats Wilander b. Sergio Casal 6-3, 6-0; Jonkman b. Matt Anger 6-2, 7-5; Kent Carlsson b. Christo van Rensburg 6-2, 2-6, 6-4.

Hagler recovers appetite... and Leonard is on the menu

NEW YORK (Reuter). — Marvin Hagler parades round his training camp in Palm Springs, Calif., flaunting a baseball cap emblazoned with the words "No Mercy."

For a man who recently considered retirement, Hagler has rediscovered his old appetite for violence and has promised to knock Sugar Ray Leonard's head off when the two men stage their eagerly-awaited multi-million dollar showdown on April 6.

The undisputed world middleweight champion does not sound like a man who was thinking of quitting after his last fight.

"I'm excited about the fight... I'm excited about getting back into the gym... I'm excited about the fact Leonard finally got his courage up," he says.

Admitting to 32, and with a ring record of 62-2, Hagler said in a telephone interview from the hotel he is using as his training camp that he thought seriously about retiring after his 11th-round win over Ugandan John Mugabi in Las Vegas last March.

"Fighting Leonard is the ultimate test... because I wanted to retire," said Hagler, whose voice has assumed a chilling edge.

"Right now I got b-u-r-r, hurt on my mind. That means I'm going to hurt him. I am going to knock his head off... my mind is in just one direction... destruction," added Hagler.

Hagler has been undisputed king of the middleweights since stopping Britain's Alan Minter in three rounds in 1980. And he says he has no intention of relinquishing his crown.

"I believe I'm as good as Leonard in every area. I think I have fought better opponents. I just haven't made the money he has."

"I feel confident I have the tools to beat him," predicted Hagler, who will take a 37-fight, 11-year winning streak into the ring against Leonard, who is coming out of retirement for the bout.

Leonard, 30, was the undisputed world welterweight champion when he was forced into retirement in November 1982 because of retina damage to his left eye.

Since then he has attempted one comeback, an unimpressive ninth-round knockout over Kevin Howard in May, 1984, before again announcing his retirement.

While many believe the guarantee of \$11 million for one fight has



HAMS. Marvellous Marvin Hagler (L) and Sugar Ray Robinson ham it up at press conference promoting their Las Vegas fight. (Reuter photo)

tempted Leonard back — Hagler will receive at least \$12 million — Hagler does not think money is his opponent's primary motivation.

"Leonard wants to win bad. He's on an ego trip. He wants to show the world Marvin Hagler can be beat and he thinks he's the man to do it. It's good he thinks that way because I've finally got this man inside the ring," said Hagler.

"Leonard is a threat to me. He is trying to take something away from me that I earned... but he's taking nothing away from me."

"He knows this is going to be a real showdown. In a way, he has more to lose than I do — he has the big (television) contracts."

"What's going to happen when he can't see? What's going to happen when he can't walk? Nobody wants you then."

"I won't be convinced he's going to fight until he steps into the ring with me."

CARACAS. — World Boxing Association president Gilberto Mendoza has endorsed a championship committee recommendation to strip Hagler of his middleweight title.

He said a final decision will be taken by the WBA executive committee early next week.

The association's championship committee last week recommended Hagler be stripped of his title for failing to defend his crown last December against their top contender — Britain's Herol Graham.

Hagler also holds the World Boxing Council middleweight title. The Leonard fight has been sanctioned by the WBC.

Mendoza said Hagler has 30 days to appeal if the executive committee votes to strip him of the WBA title.

Hagler's attorney last week received a temporary restraining order from a county court that stops the WBA from taking away the title until further order of the court.

Year-round needs

THE FACT that our lists of contributions to The Jerusalem Post funds are shrinking, doesn't mean that the needs of the elderly and children have decreased. A lot of our readers associate the Toy Fund with Hanukkah, but as we have mentioned before, the needs of children in foster care and government institutions exist all year round, as reflected by the many, many calls and letters we receive from social workers asking for help.

The needs of the aged are just as great. The continuing government cut-backs in the budget threaten to cut the existing services to the barest minimum.

Most of the money contributed to both funds has been distributed, therefore we are relying on the generosity of our readers to help us fill these requests.

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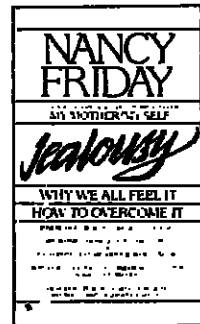
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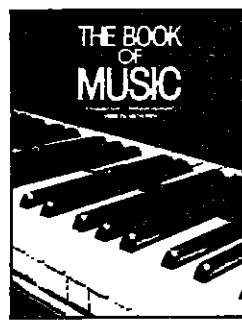


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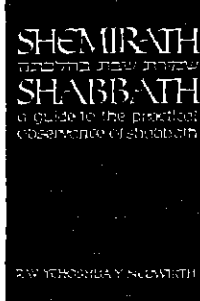
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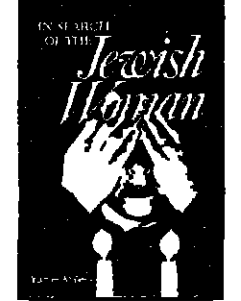
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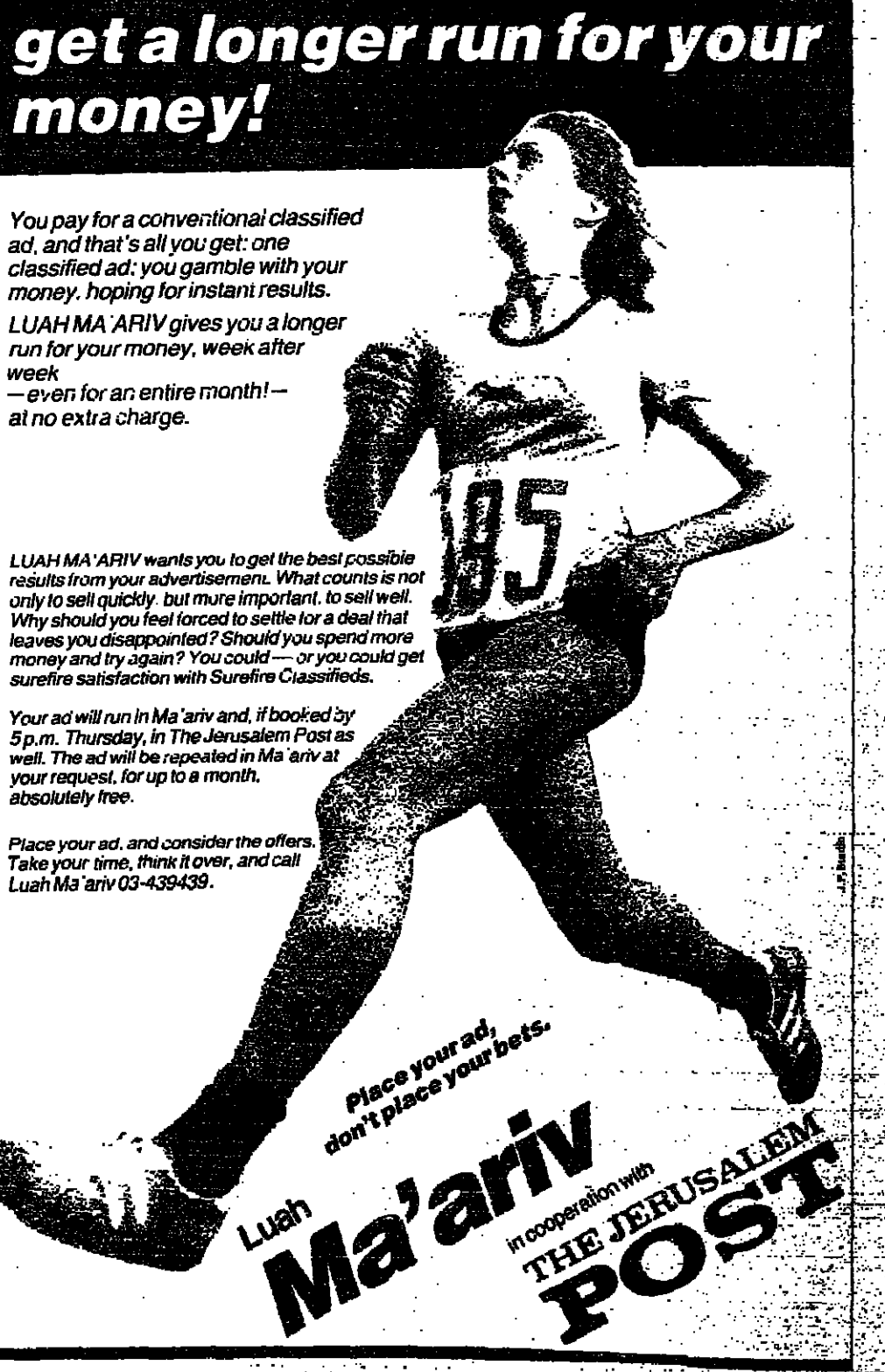
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The request for government financial aid by the United Kibbutz movement led to a political crisis. David Krivine investigates why the kibbutzim needed to ask for assistance while Meir Tamari examines the ethics involved in bail-outs at the tax payers' expense.

Reward and punishment

Meir Tamari

THE UNITED Kibbutz Movement's request for assistance from the public purse should draw attention to some basic questions regarding such bail-outs at the tax payers' expense. This is especially urgent in view of the long line of other potential recipients who have hitched themselves on to this request.

On no account should the ideological basis of the political conflict raging over this issue be allowed to obscure the economic and financial aspects involved. Rather it should be used to review the practices of the past and to draw lessons for the future, if public money is to be used to achieve rehabilitation of weak economic units rather than for rescue operations which simply postpone the day of reckoning.

One of the most problematic aspects of the Israeli economy, both from a moral and from an economic point of view, is the complete lack of relationship between the reward or punishment granted and the actions of the firm or the individual. Furthermore, it must be understood that the use of public money—in the form of grants, cancellation of debts or the redefining of the period of repayment—to rescue firms or institutions is a form of charity, not a right, and must be regarded as such by the recipients, except in those cases where the difficulties are caused by natural disaster or national policy. It is these aspects which are at stake in our present discussion.

Proponents of aid to the kibbutz movement stress the contribution the kibbutzim have made to Israeli society. Public consensus in Israel would probably accept the importance of this contribution and would not want to see the movement seriously harmed, just as, in the past it has accepted that the welfare of workers should be considered when deciding the fate of such firms as Ata. Such considerations are legitimate and bear the mark of humanity in economic decisions. They do not, however, have any relationship to the methods used in providing public assistance to the institution in question, which ought to be both moral and efficient.

The financial problems of the kibbutz, just like those of a failed firm, a bankrupt bank, or an insolvent building contractor, are not the result of acts of God or natural disasters or fraud; or even high interest rates.

The problems are caused by bad management in the initial investment decision, in current business conduct or by irresponsible acceptance of an exaggerated degree of risk.

Furthermore, firms do not die of heart attacks but rather of cancer, i.e. their financial difficulties do not occur suddenly but can be predicted long in advance. This means that informed management, lenders or supervisory bodies should have been aware of the impending crisis; lack of awareness is simply one more example of negligence. In all cases, financial difficulties are the result of mistakes for which everybody involved

must be made to pay before the taxpayers' money can be used to rescue the institution in question.

UNLIKE ANY of its predecessors in the receiving of public aid—or for that matter, in their own previous rescue operations—the kibbutz movement has, in effect, accepted this principle. The principles adopted, by the kibbutzim, should serve as a guide for the future.

● Full disclosure has been made of the financial position of each individual kibbutz. In other cases, it has been difficult to discover the real extent of the debts or the required assistance, so that all too often, one rescue operation had to be followed by another.

● Each kibbutz has presented a plan for its financial rehabilitation and agreed that the execution of such plans shall be placed in the hands of an external "receiver." Past rescue operations have usually not been made conditional on such plans nor has execution of them always been taken out of the hands of the previous management or owners.

● Public assistance will be given to individual kibbutzim and not to the movement. All too often, assistance given to amorphous bodies tends to evaporate.

● Other kibbutzim have given of their own funds—similar, perhaps, to further investment by the shareholders in a corporation—to assist weak units which, more importantly, have agreed to cut their standard of living. This, after all, is no more than ethical. Institutions who became dependent on public assistance as a result of their own mistakes, cannot permit themselves to carry on living as usual. Unfortunately, in the past, shareholders of failed firms or their managers, have not been required to pay this price.

● The banks have agreed to wipe out part of the debts of the kibbutzim. This is completely justified. After all, they, as creditors, should have taken care to lend their money with due respect to considerations of risk. Since they were not, they have to bear the loss resulting from their mistaken loan portfolio. If this policy had been followed in the past, instead of protecting the lenders from their own mistakes, large sums of taxpayers' money could have been saved.

One can only hope that a precedent is being set in the Israeli economy. Future government assistance to failed firms, to "infant" industries which never grew to maturity, and to new, unproven projects, will now have to be based on reward and punishment.

Where firms run into financial difficulties, creditors will lose part of their loans; shareholders will lose part of their investment; managers who have made mistakes will be fired without even one agora of severance pay; inefficient workers will have to go and perhaps the government official or minister who authorized the creation of the white elephant in question, will also be made to pay the price.

We should always remind ourselves that there is no such a thing as a profit system—only a profit and loss system.



Can the country afford to protect its cotton farmers?

(Richard Nowitz)

A question of priorities

David Krivine

WHY ARE the kibbutzim—jewels in the Zionist crown, paragons of agricultural productivity—reduced to begging for aid from the national exchequer?

Avraham Katz-Oz deputy minister of Agriculture and himself a kibbutz member (Nahai Oz, whose name he has hyphenated with his own) states firmly that the failure has nothing to do with agriculture. The Likud government wrecked the country's monetary system, generating in 1984 runaway inflation of 1 per cent every 30 hours; and the people looking after kibbutz finances lost their bearings.

Trying to protect the value of their reserves they overshot the mark and landed up in the world of speculation. Professor Shmuel Pohoryles, chief economist and planner at the ministry, describes the posture of the kibbutzim as schizophrenic. "They behaved outwardly like capitalist business firms," he says, "while continuing to conduct themselves inwardly like a socialist society." In the end they took a tumble with David Balas. "He lost them \$50m-60m," according to Katz-Oz.

The authorities proceeded to confuse the situation further. In order to combat the inflation bequeathed by their predecessors, they took a step that professor Yakir Plessner, of the Hebrew University's Agricultural School, considers utterly crazy: they pushed up the interest-rate, till it reached unheard-of levels.

"In the first half of 1985, borrowers were paying 11 to 17 per cent a month in dollar terms. That comes cumulatively to a dollar-linked interest rate of 350 per cent a year," he proclaims.

THE ECONOMIC recovery programme was inaugurated in July 1985. In the following half year (August-December), interest rates averaged 38 per cent, again in dollars; which compares with a norm of around 7 per cent in Europe.

New loans were taken to defray the interest due on old ones. The

debt of the kibbutzim rose to \$2b., practically equalling their annual turnover of \$2.2b.

The United Kibbutz Movement (UKM), affiliated to the Labour Alignment, now seeks a loan package totalling NIS 264. Are they the only ones in trouble? Not at all, says Katz-Oz, practically the whole agricultural sector needs rescue operations.

"After the UKM, we shall have to deal with Kibbutz Artzi (the Mampam-affiliated movement)," he states, "and then the moshavim, including the Betar moshavim (affiliated to the Likud). They all have debts needing to be re-channelled and the list is not confined to areas inside the Green Line. Settlements in the Golan and the Jordan Valley are supplicants too."

This is disturbing news, given that the initial UKM loan has already raised hackles in other political parties, who demand corresponding benefits for their constituents. Will the rigmarole start all over again each time another settlement organization puts in its bid?

Aharon Fogel, head of the Treasury's budget division, is (like Katz-Oz) reticent in his answer. Each applicant body, he stresses, will have to submit a proper recovery plan proving that the required loan arrangement is justified as a sober business proposition and that it would put the settlements back on their feet.

The Treasury is not a charitable organization, Fogel implies, and whoever does not meet its criteria will forfeit the aid. His prognostication sounds very optimistic, considering Finance Minister Moshe Plessner's inability to repulse political pressures so far.

The new rescue demands will be submitted *seriatim* during the next six months and are likely to be the occasion each time of acrid discussion. What this long drawn out money-gouging process will do to the state budget—approved by the cabinet a month ago without any specific provision even for UKM—is anybody's guess.

IS THAT THE whole story? Not quite. Behind the financial problem there does lurk an agricultural problem. Katz-Oz makes light of it. "Practically all our agriculture is profitable, the main exceptions being cotton and wheat," he says.

What about these two crops? "The world is over-producing, partly because of the green revolution that has extended to the developing countries. Cotton concerns us in par-

ticular. China and India, formerly importers of this raw material, now export it.

"The world price has dropped to 43 cents a pound, which would normally cause many Western producers to grow less cotton, thus stabilizing the market. Instead the U.S. administration guarantees its cotton farmers 86 cents a pound, so they do not cut their output."

Why should they? Ensured a good return they can ignore the signals of the market and persevere. Continued high-level American production aggravates the crisis. Nor is the U.S. alone in this. Spain for example pays 91 cents a pound, which does not help.

"At the end of the day who suffers? Farmers in countries which give no protection—they are the sufferers," Katz-Oz concludes. "Last year the Israel government allocated (belatedly) \$17m., which allowed us to raise the guaranteed price for our cotton farmers to 65 cents a pound. Including exchange-rate insurance (a form of aid to exporters), that adds up to 72 cents, and we would like to keep it that way." The outlay envisaged is additional to and separate from the loan rescue scheme.

If the world price rises (which it did momentarily a few months ago) less subsidy is needed. Meanwhile the farmer knows where he stands and can plan his cultivation in peace of mind.

Katz-Oz applies the same method of thinking to wheat: "Its price has fallen from \$160 a ton to \$90. If you include the cost of transport to Israel, the price we have to pay for wheat shipments is down from \$210 to \$140. We can't afford to compete with imported supplies at \$140 a ton."

What does all that mean? "It means we have to decide whether we want a green Negev or not." Cotton and wheat are extensive crops, covering large areas. Unless they are subsidized those areas will return to waste. Other farm activities cover their costs, Katz-Oz stresses: only these two (in the main) need subsidizing.

Cotton needs water for irrigation and water is in short supply. The question arises: If cotton is unprofitable unless subsidized, why not give up its cultivation? There would be a double economy: money saved and water saved.

Pohoryles's reaction is negative. Agriculture has a special place in Israel's tradition. The number of farmers has dropped steadily over the years owing to the sector's ever-increasing productivity, and policymakers are reconciled to that. But to cut output, to reduce the cultivated

area? Pohoryles echoes Katz-Oz's devotion to the greening of the desert. "We would be drying out the Negev," he observes with distaste.

What about the water shortage? Pohoryles: "The area of cotton cultivation was slashed by one-third before the water crisis broke. We did that because of the fall in export prices. When water rations were cut, some kibbutzim may have reduced their cotton-growing further: each had to make its own decision."

"The provision of fresh water is being reduced, that is true. By 1991 water quotas for agriculture will have dropped from 1,125m. cubic metres (in 1986) to 850 million cu.m. But supplies of purified sewage-water are on the increase—at an investment of \$300m.—and that compensates in part. If you take all our water resources together, both fresh and re-cycled, we shall be down by 1991 only from 1.4b. cubic metres to 1.3b.

"We can't use re-cycled water to grow vegetables, but we can for industrial crops like cotton. So what are we to grow instead of cotton?"

Pohoryles is aware of the changing world and the relentless march of technological progress, which makes yesterday's crop plans obsolete today. All kibbutzim, he stresses, are undergoing a major structural transformation.

"During Israel's first 25 years after 1948, agricultural output rose by 10 per cent per annum. In the last decade it has not risen at all." Yet productivity continues to improve, making some of the labourers redundant. The kibbutzim have adapted by syphoning surplus manpower to industrial and other activities.

"Only a quarter of the work-force in the kibbutzim remain in farming," he concedes.

Reducing agricultural labour is one thing, but reducing agriculture itself—that is going too far. Pohoryles looks harassed. "The scientists are busy developing new areas of specialization for our farms and settlements. Unfortunately it takes time. Over the next 10 years we have no substitute for cotton," he confesses.

THE IMPLICATION is that after the kibbutzim are bailed out of their present plight, aid will still be needed to keep this one vulnerable branch of cultivation in business. Subsidies used to be much more extensive and most of them have been phased out. But a remnant of it remains indispensable—a symptom of the deteriorating profitability of agriculture world-wide.

Israel's producers are not to blame, the ground has been cut from under their feet, Professor Plessner emphasizes that not only this country is affected. "In the last two years, a quarter of America's family farms have become bankrupt. Out of 250,000 units, 60,000 have ceased functioning," he says. The pressure of competition is forcing all countries to discard the conventional homestead and fall back on large, privately managed estates capable of achieving optimal economies of scale.

The impact on Israel has affected both moshavim and kibbutzim, but the reaction in each of the two cases has been different. The weaker moshavim are dropping out of agriculture, which means dropping out of the cooperative system. Some are no longer moshavim. They have become ordinary villages, called *face-savings yishuvim kehilati'im*, or community settlements.

The kibbutzim do not intend to drop out of anything. They remain intact and remain collective, but many of their members have shifted to different occupations. This suggests to Plessner a partial explanation of the financial difficulties they have run into.

"The kibbutzim had to invest in industry so as to find new jobs for their manpower. That means they were expanding their manufacturing activity at a slack time, when the market was not favourable and factories in the towns were, if anything, shedding labour.

"Investments were therefore not always fruitful, at least in the short run. Kibbutz Hulda, for example, put up a prefabricated-housing plant during a period when demand had ebbed and the building industry was retrenching."

Kibbutzim and moshavim have always tended to over-invest. Until not so long ago an indulgent administration was providing them with 50-year loans at 2 per cent interest. This helped create an impressive agricultural infrastructure, and those responsible deserve the country's blessing.

But not all the investments were well-considered. Some of the loan money was put not into production but into improved physical amenities (excessive mechanical equipment, new dining halls and the like).

Kibbutzim are big borrowers because they need a lot of working capital. Growing things is a longer process than manufacturing them. Recently government loans were made more expensive; nor did the kibbutzim confine themselves to government loans. They borrowed widely, sometimes using short-term credits to finance long-term projects. The explosion of interest rates when it came left them trapped.

Shlomo Leshem, spokesman of UKM, takes up the story: "In 1982 we (that is, UKM) had a turnover of \$1.2b., and interest-payments on our debts totalled \$20m. a year, which was tolerable.

"By 1985 we were paying \$157m. in interest charges, or nearly eight times as much, on a turnover that had not perceptibly increased," he recalls.

THE REDEMPTION plan of the UKM may be a model for Kibbutz Artzi and the Labour affiliated moshav movement when their turns come. Katz-Oz explains it: "UKM wants to convert short-term loans carrying exorbitant interest-rates into 10-12 year credits charging a normal 8 per cent per annum, linked to the index.

"The conversion will go as follows. The government will lend UKM NIS 264m., and the banks another NIS 130m.-160m. Within the movement the stronger kibbutzim will grant NIS 40m.—spread over four years—to their weaker brethren. The money, garnered in this way will go to retire high-cost debts. UKM will be swapping new reasonably-priced loans for old extortionate ones.

Such a re-financing operation can be justified in business terms. The proof, Plessner points out, is that it did not need to be done by the government, it could have been handled through Israel's capital market, if that market had been allowed to develop and become full-sized.

The kibbutzim are not asking for anything out of the ordinary. They want to raise loans at accepted commercial rates. What they propose is a business transaction. If the government had left more capital in the hands of the banks and finance houses, these professional bodies would be supplying the kibbutz loan.

We would be spared the ridiculous competition for budgetary funds by institutions like the Likud's West Bank settlements and Avraham Shapira's yeshivot—institutions that could never qualify for a commercial loan but are at the forefront when it comes to taking money out of the till.

What about the kibbutzim's one remaining shortcoming—the government subsidy for cotton and the requested subsidy for wheat? That makes no sense in business terms, it is something outside the purview of the banks. The government chooses to support a non-economic activity. If it changed its mind, the activity would have to cease.

But the greening of the Negev would then be reversed, the desert would dry up according to Pohoryles. Is that a bad thing? There can be two opinions, Plessner suggests (not without irony). Tilling the land for esthetic reasons seems excessive, he thinks. "I mean, if the Almighty had wanted the Negev to be green, he would not have made it a desert, would he?"

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ATTENTION U.S. TAXPAYERS

Tax Assistant, Jerry Beamer, will be in Jerusalem from March 4-6 and in Tel Aviv from March 10-12. Tax seminars will be held at the American Cultural Center, 19 Keren Hayesod, Jerusalem on March 4 for U.S. retirees and pensioners, and on March 5 for U.S. businessmen, U.S. Government employees, etc. between the hours 8:30-12:00. Seminars will be held in Tel Aviv at the U.S. Embassy, USIS Auditorium, 71 Hayarkon St., Tel Aviv on March 10 for U.S. retirees, etc. and on March 11 for U.S. businessmen, etc., between the hours 9:00-12:00.

On the other days (Monday through Friday) Mr. Beamer will be available on a "first come-first served" basis at the Consular Section at the American Consulate General in Jerusalem, Tel. 02-234271, and U.S. Embassy, Consular Section, Tel Aviv, 65-600188/0 to answer brief questions only. He will not do actual return preparation.

Mr. Beamer will also give a general seminar in Haifa on March 17 from 9:00-12:00 at the Chamber of Commerce, 53 Ha'atzmaut Street. He will then be available for brief questions at the U.S. Consular Agent's office in Haifa situated at 12 Yehudahayim Street from 2:00-5:00. For further information contact the Consular Section in Tel Aviv.

GIVE US A HAND

The Hanukkah Toy Fund is so much more than its name suggests. Now that the holiday is over, we turn our attention to the numerous special projects for Israel's underprivileged children. Please, be generous. And let us care for our little ones.

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Contributions can be mailed directly to The Jerusalem Post, P.O.B. 81, Jerusalem 91000. All funds are allocated in accordance with the recommendations of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

A profit in its time

The Bank of Israel has finally made official the news, long since reported in *The Jerusalem Post* and elsewhere, that the examiner of banks has ordered banks to issue quarterly financial statements. This is a welcome development, and it is much to be hoped that, as with several previous initiatives regarding reporting requirements, the rules on the banks will spread to other public companies.

The state of reporting requirements still leaves much to be desired. But before focusing on the empty half of the glass, it is worth noting that having a half-full glass is a noticeable improvement on having one that is only one-quarter full. In other words, much progress has been made, but much is still left to be done.

Take the current situation. The new tax rules that took effect in 1986 require all companies to close their books on December 31 each year. That means that all exchange-listed companies must file end-of-year results for 1986 within six months, according to the law, and within 120 days, according to the rules of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

Some companies, but painfully few, manage to get their results out within two months, rather more within three, and then comes the rush of "last minute" results which build up to a crescendo as the fourth month draws to a close. This year, with all companies having a uniform reporting date and the accounting firms snowed under with hyperactivity in the first months of the year (except Haft and Haft, whose employees have picked now as the right time to strike), the pressure will be worse than ever.

Then come half-yearly reports, which are not mandated by the existing law but are demanded by the stock exchange—within 90 days of the end of the half, which now means the end of September.

All this, of course, is for the majority of law-abiding companies who play by the rules. There are always the few, and recently not so few, that suffer from chronic delays, and end up forcing the exchange management to temporarily suspend trading in their shares, pending publication of their results.

To this framework can now be added the quarterly report, which must also be published, according to the Bank of Israel directive, within 90 days of the end of the quarter. As noted, this will sooner or later spread to other companies, but for the moment we will focus on the banks.

In the U.S., results must be out within 45 days of the end of each quarter, and where in actual fact most of the biggest banks, as well as many small ones, had their figures published by the end of January. In Israel, no major commercial bank will publish by the end of February, and only one or two currently have any intention or hope of doing so by the last part of March. Most of them will issue year-end figures in April—when they should already be working on their quarterly results—although in practice these will not see the light of day until June.

Is there any excuse for this tardiness? No and yes. No, in terms of the complaints made on other days to this reporter by one senior banker, about the difficulties of consolidating all the results of the bank's subsidiaries, and no to the excuse of Hapoalim and Discount that their major subsidiary, Clal Israel, doesn't publish its results until April, thus holding them up. If Citicorp and First Chicago can control their employees' accounting procedures, the Israelis should also learn how.

But yes insofar as the delays stem from the same Examiner of Banks Department at the Bank of Israel, which every year fiddles with the accounting rules and requirements, and always in January and February, instead of in November and December, so that it ends up driving everybody up the wall. Why is the central bank so wedded to pushing the system forward after tying its legs together?

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Bank heads score economic policy

Hapoalim, Artzi agree on debt

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

Bank Hapoalim and the Kibbutz Artzi have concluded a debt-rescheduling plan that will make it unnecessary for the kibbutz movement to seek government aid, the Hapoalim general manager Amiram Sivan told reporters yesterday.

He gave no details of the plan, or the sums involved. The Mapam-affiliated movement had earlier said it was seeking to reschedule \$80 million—\$100m. of its \$650m. debt.

Sivan noted that if the government would reduce its role in the capital market there would be no need for the larger United Kibbutz Movement (UKM) to ask for government help or loans.

"The government borrows from us the funds we raise from the public at an interest rate of 4.5 per cent, then it lends us the same funds back at an interest rate of 7 per cent, so we can lend it to the UKM or other bodies at 8 per cent," he said.

Sivan and the bank's chairman,

Eytan Berglass, took the opportunity to criticize the government and the Bank of Israel for the regulations that prevent Israeli banks from borrowing from abroad funds that would finance credit to domestic firms. They warned that there was a real danger that the plans for capital market reform would not be implemented. Berglass said that already in 1986 a situation emerged where commercial banks were not only responsible for underwriting bond issues for the private sector but were acting as the principle buyers of the offerings as well.

Hapoalim executives said the bank's strategy was to diversify its credit activities. The bank, which in the past specialized in credits to large companies, will now cultivate links with small and medium-size firms, as well as with consumers.

The strategy also calls for continuing manpower cuts, albeit at a slower pace than in previous years, they said. In the past three years the

bank has reduced its work-force by 17 per cent, from 10,000 in late 1983, to 8,300 at the present.

The bank's strategy for the coming months will be based on the reformation of its branches to accommodate the needs of the type of neighborhood or community they operate. Sivan declared Hapoalim wants to make its branches into customer-tailored. This will affect the type of services each branch offers and their working hours. There will be branches offering mainly retail banking services for consumers, some of them on a self-service basis, and others offering business services. Some branches will offer both.

The Hapoalim executives stressed that the commissions currently charged for banking services covered only half of their cost. They urged the Bank of Israel to apply the recommendations of the 1985 Heth committee on banking commissions, which proposed increasing commission gradually by 50 per cent.

'87 inflation forecast to reach 30%

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

The inflation rate is expected to reach 30 per cent in 1987 and another devaluation of the shekel is likely in the second half of the year, according to a forecast released Wednesday by the Economics Department of Bank Hapoalim.

Hapoalim's economists write in their forecast that the main problems related to the rate of exchange, mainly higher labour costs and export profitability, were not solved by the January 13 devaluation and would continue to plague the economy. They added that no economic growth "breakthrough" could be expected this year. Gross domestic product will grow only 2 to 3 per cent, a slight increase from the 1 per cent expansion recorded last year.

In the first four months the economists forecast that the consumer price index will rise about 11 per cent. February should see a 2.75 per cent rise, followed by increases of 2.5 per cent in March and 3 per cent in April. In January, the rate was 2.1 per cent.

They predicted strong demand pressure on the economy throughout the year. And this, together with increased fuel prices, will push the cost of living upwards, Hapoalim said.

Workers will get a cost-of-living allowance of 4.1 per cent in their March wage packages. The next compensation, which Hapoalim predicts will total some 5.5 per cent, will be paid in July, and the third allowance will be payable in October or November.

This means that during the third quarter export profitability will return to the low level prevailing on the eve of January's 10 per cent devaluation, forcing the government to take a similar action again.

The timing of this devaluation will be heavily influenced by the public's expectations regarding inflation. If the inflation rate slows to 1 per cent or less a month after April, as forecast by the Treasury, expectations of a devaluation will fade.

Dollar takes a ride on news of G-5 parley

Rumours, later confirmed, that the leading industrial powers would meet this weekend for talks that analysts said would be aimed at coordinating economic policy and halting the slide of the dollar, carried the U.S. currency higher in hectic trading.

But, no sooner than the rumours were confirmed than the dollar lost its lustre, as speculation grew that the upcoming Group of Five and Group of Seven meetings would not produce concrete results.

(Final rates appear in New York Financial Markets on this page.)

Dealers thought the talks which will be held in Paris might result in greater readiness by the U.S. to help arrest the dollar's recent decline. It has seemed willing to let it weaken to make U.S. exports more competitive and help narrow its huge trade deficit—regardless of how this pinches the export-led West German and Japanese economies.

But congressional testimony yesterday by U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker and Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker did not seem to include any new. Thus by late in the day in Europe, the market finally decided the Paris talks were unlikely to yield an agreement.

"If they just come out and say the coffee was good, the pie was tasty and the cigars were too short, then you can forget everything," said Chris Zwernmann, foreign exchange adviser in Frankfurt with Swiss Bank Corp. (AP, Reuters)

WORLD BUSINESS IN BRIEF

Cairo, IMF reach agreement on reform for aid

CAIRO (Reuters). — Egypt and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have agreed on a draft package of economic reforms that Cairo will undertake in return for credits of \$250 million to \$300m. Western diplomats said yesterday.

After months of negotiations in Washington and Cairo, the agreement with the IMF will pave the way for rescheduling Egypt's \$38.6 billion foreign debt, the diplomats said.

The draft letter of intent calls for streamlining Egypt's multi-tiered exchange rate system, and greater liberalization of interest rates. Other elements include stronger measures to reduce Cairo's budget deficit and price increases on subsidized consumer goods.

In addition, the World Bank will grant loans of up to \$800m. under the accord.

THE U.S. ECONOMY grew at a sluggish 1.3 per cent annual rate in 1986's final quarter, even weaker than previously thought, the government reported yesterday.

The Commerce Department said the October-December change in the gross national product, was the economy's poorest showing since last spring, when growth slumped to 0.6 per cent.

Weaker growth was accompanied by slowed inflation, with an inflation index tied to the GNP rising an annualized 0.7 per cent, the best figure in almost 20 years.

DUTCH COMPANY DAF will acquire a controlling interest in loss-making Leyland Trucks from the British government, industry sources said yesterday.

The move was the latest in the government's plans to return the state-owned Rover Group, which controls Leyland, to profitability. Trading in Rover shares were suspended in London at the government's request.

Despite an 18 per cent share of the British market, Leyland has been losing \$1.5m. a week and the government has been seeking a buyer.

CORRECTION

The artist whose work "Tristan Tzara" was reproduced on page 8 of Wednesday's *Jerusalem Post*, was incorrectly identified. He is Marcel Janco.

Clal offering \$20m. in notes in Europe

Post Economic Staff

Clal Ltd. said Wednesday it was raising \$20 million in the Eurobond market through an issue of seven-year floating rate notes.

The notes, which are being issued through a consortium lead managed by Bank Leumi, will carry interest of 3/4 per cent over the London interbank offered rate (Libor). Libor currently stands at 11 1/2 per cent.

The notes will be redeemable seven years from the date of issue, although holders will have the option of redeeming them after five years.

They are being formally offered by Clal's wholly Dutch-owned subsidiary, Clal Finance N.V., but will be fully guaranteed by the Israeli parent company. The issue marks the second time that an Israeli company, not counting banks, has made an offering in the Eurobond market.

The notes, which will not be offered Israeli citizens except under special circumstances, will be registered with the Luxembourg stock exchange.

Leumi British unit's profit rises 52%

By DAVID HOROVITZ

LONDON. — Bank Leumi UK this week announced a 52 per cent increase in net profit for 1986 and total assets of over £400 million.

Declared profits rose from 1985's £10.5m. to £16m. and assets from £390m. to £411m., reflecting higher income both from lending and customer services.

A spokesman for the bank said

Leumi had not suffered fallout from the controversy surrounding the salaries and pensions of executives in its Israeli parent.

Other sources said, however, that the affair and its continuing repercussions have lost the bank considerable credibility on the international money markets and that it is not as easy as it once was for the bank to raise credit lines.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:

General Share Index	120.97+0.22%
Non-Bank Index	148.03+0.42%
Arrangement	105.34+0.05%
Insurance	130.48+0.12%
Commerce, Services	137.05+0.41%
Real Estate	135.89+0.17%
Industrial	145.18+0.38%
Textiles	133.98+0.23%
Metals	134.26+0.78%
Electronics	152.63+0.73%
Chemicals	140.56+0.30%
Industrial Invest.	170.86+2.82%
Investment Cos.	167.28+0.48%
General Bond Index	109.54+0.02%
Index-linked Bonds	110.53+0.04%
Fully-linked	111.53+0.10%
Partially-linked	108.97+0.06%
Dollar-linked Bonds	104.83+0.18%
Short-term 0-3 yrs	107.83+0.11%
Medium-term 3-5 yrs	108.82+0.17%
Long-term 5+ yrs	111.00+0.08%

Turnovers:

Shares—total	NIS 27,468,100
Arrangement	NIS 6,595,700
Non-bank	NIS 20,872,400
Bonds—total	NIS 8,829,200
Index-linked	NIS 5,267,300
Dollar-linked	NIS 1,461,900
Treasury Bills	NIS 9,869,000

Share Movements:

Advances	112 (183)
of which 5%+	22 (38)
"buyers only"	1 (4)
Declines	164 (109)
of which 5%+	20 (17)
"sellers only"	4 (2)
Unchanged	117 (122)
Trading Halt	29 (28)

Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked	Stable/falls to 1%
3% fully-linked	Stable/falls to 1%

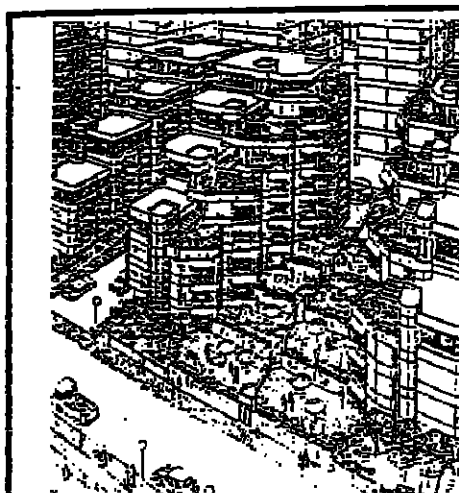
4.25% fully-linked	Stable/rises to 0.5%
80% linked	Falls to 0.5%
Double-linked:	Generally stable
Dollar-linked:	Mixed to 0.5%
Admiral	Rises to 0.5-1%
Gilboa	Mixed to 1%
Rimor	Stable
For. Curr. denominated	Stable
Treasury Bills (annual yield)	27.80-32.25%

Arrangement yields:

IDB ord.	17.72%
Union 0.1	17.67%
Discount A	17.74%
Mizrahi r.	17.77%
Hapoalim r.	17.76%
General A	17.89%
Leumi stock	17.75%
Fin. Trade 1	17.68%

SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
Commercial Banks			
(not part of "arrangement")			
Maritime	1848	3038	—
General non-arr.	27399	219	-1.8
First Int'l	5000	4058	+2.5
FIBI	8430	2923	-0.6
Commercial Banks			
(part of "arrangement")			
Union 0.1	88720	949	-0.0
Discount	58920	197	-0.0
Mizrahi	113210	273	-0.0
Hapoalim r.	36490	118	-0.1
General A	60260	3452	-0.0
Leumi 0.1	154100	33	-0.0
Leumi 0.1	38280	6957	-0.1
Fin. Trade	50850	19	-0.5
Mortgage Banks			
Leumi Mort. r.	10890	258	-0.9
Dev. Mort.	4480	582	-0.9
Mishkan r.	5010	1955	+2.5
Tefahot r.	23651	324	—
Merav r.	9100	97	—
Financial Institutions			
Agri. C.	no trading		
Ind. Dev. DD	no trading		
Clal Leasing 0.1	26100	28	+2.4
Insurance			
Ararat 0.1 r.	1727	715	-5.0
Hassneh r.	420	51672	-2.3
Phoenix 0.1	1169	1745	—
Harishmar	7485	86	—
Menorah 1	2800	94	+1.8
Sahar r.	7680	1118	+1.3
Zion Hold. 1	10550	9	+4.8
Trade & Services			
Meir Ezra	1485	5442	+10.0
Supersol 2	19000	990	-0.8
Delek r.	5533	7248	—
Lightage	19900	78	—
Cold Storage	1100	3658	—
Dan Hotels	1780	548	-3.8
Yarden Hotel	2901	161	+0.1
Hilton 1	no trading		
Team 1	1025	3531	—
Real Estate, Building and Agriculture			
Azoric	1140	13498	+0.9
Eilon	532	21256	-2.4
Africa Int. 0.1	59310	98	-0.2
Danzer	6760	1345	+7.6
Prop. & Bldg.	6430	1602	-0.7
Bayside 0.1	7350	1325	+0.3
ILDC r.	85400	256	+0.5
Rasaco r.	no trading		
Mehadrin	8350	256	-1.1
Hadarim	2215	7697	—
Industrials			
Dubek b	6510	1103	—
PH-Zet 1	no trading		
Sunfrost	18900	498	—
Elite	25300	3720	+10.0
Adgar	884	12501	-2.9
Argaman r.	15900	141	—
Delta G 1	4451	1038	—
Maquette 1	4730	232	+0.6
Eagle 1	26900	254	+5.1
Polgat	4770	445	—
Schoellerma	17001	269	+3.0
Rogovin	3311	838	—
Urdon 0.1 r.	8500	241	+1.2
Ja. Can Co. 1	4410	4523	+2.1
Zion Cables	2580	3137	—
Packer Steel	23200	190	+8.9
Elbit	612500	14	—
Oil Exploration			
Paz Oil Expl.	30450	55	+1.5
J.O.E.L.	5500	6202	+8.0
Abbreviations:			
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	Last Updated	Tapas	Pakam	3-Month	6-Month	12-Month
LEUMI	19.2	9-25.00%	9-25.00%	12-30.00%		
HAPAOALIM	13.2	10-24.00%	11-24.50%	15-27.00%		
DISCOUNT	17.12	7-16.00%	8-16.20%	14-18.50%		
MIZRAHI	12.2	8-17%	6-17.50%	6-19.50%		
FIRST INT'L	12.2	17-25.00%	18-25.50%	23-30.00%		

Rates vary according to size of deposit.
(Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 59 days.)

PATAH—FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (February 19)

(February 19)				
MINIMUM DEP	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS	
USD (\$100,000)	5.875	5.875	5.875	
STG (£10,000 pounds)	9.250	8.875	9.000	
DMK (100,000 marks)	3.125	3.125	3.250	
SFR (50,000 francs)	2.750	2.750	2.875	
YEN (3,000,000 yen)	2.875	2.750	2.825	

THE JERUSALEM POST

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New enemy in Gaza, West Bank

Hirsh Goodman

Why the fuss?

NO DOUBT, if asked, most Israelis would not know what all the fuss is about that comes under the heading of "an international conference." Where, after all, are there Arab countries knocking on the door for talks with Israel, either with or without the cover of a conference? Is the fuss then not just another item on the long agenda of partisan bickering between the Likud and Labour which may interest the politicians and journalists, but is largely irrelevant to the citizen who can't make ends meet, or whose loved ones are caught up in the duress of a hospital waitlist?

Moreover, it is probably the case that in the lengthy meetings Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir held this week in Washington with President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, the subject of such a conference took up only a very small portion of their time.

And yet, on the public stage, and in what was fed to the press in Washington, this issue was permitted to dominate all else.

Suddenly the Americans, who all along seemed reluctant to grant much merit to Shimon Peres's insistence that such a conference was a necessary device to enable King Hussein to enter into the "peace process," emerged as supportive of the idea, much to Mr. Shamir's chagrin.

Had they abruptly overcome their reluctance to grant the Soviets a role in Middle East diplomacy which Washington has more or less monopolized since 1977? Or was the jabbing between Labour and the Likud simply transported to a Washington stage?

There are no firm available answers to all these questions. Nor can there be any confidence that despite all the rhetoric, any such conference will in the foreseeable future take place.

More easily decipherable, however, are the political circumstances in Washington and Jerusalem that have brought the subject of a conference to the foreground, irrespective of the practical prospects.

In Washington, the Reagan administration, buffeted by Irangate, a restive Congress, and a lame duck president, is anxious to place substantive, or what can appear to be substantive, policy moves back onto the public agenda. There is, in other words, a felt need for some achievement.

There is also a felt need to succor King Hussein and Egypt's President Mubarak, America's friends, who believe such a conference would strengthen their positions in the polarized Arab world. Therefore, for these purposes alone, there is good reason for Washington to make favourable noises.

But in Jerusalem, the plot is thicker. It is termed elections. Labour and the Likud are heading for divorce. Before that happens, however, Mr. Shamir is intent on establishing his leadership role firmly in his own party. To do that he must project his hard-line policy views clearly on his party, in advance of the Herut convention. And then, in the event of elections, beam them sharply on the electorate. The international conference is as good a controversy as any for these purposes.

Labour and Mr. Peres, smarting under their subsidiary role in the unity government's second term, are also determined to define their differences with the Likud in newly vivid terms — differences that became muted in the past two years. For if there are to be elections in 1987 let the peace (or war) issue become prominent.

Thus in a kind of ironic convergence, not the prospects of a conference, but rather the domestic political needs of both Washington and Jerusalem have brought the spotlight onto what otherwise could remain a subject of rather leisurely quiet diplomacy.

The common wisdom is, therefore, well justified. The conference dispute does not mean a conference is around the corner. But what may well be around the corner, or at least the next corner, is the break up of Israel's government.

IN CONVERSATION with a group of foreign journalists and strategists recently, OC Central Command, Aluf Ehud Barak, was the first to admit that one cannot solve the problems of the West Bank and Gaza by force — yet, these past few months, the young general who was narrowly defeated in his bid to replace Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy as Chief of General Staff in April has found himself using more and more force to try to control a situation which he said could not be subdued by military means.

Barak's dilemma is exactly similar to that which has plagued his predecessors over the past two decades. If you use force and punitive action against pockets of unrest, you risk alienating the majority of the population who suffer in the process. If you do nothing, you risk creeping anarchy and the extension of radicalism.

But while the dilemma facing Barak may be the same as his predecessors', the situation, the experts say, has changed. Whereas in the past unrest was primarily "imported," for the past few months it has become clear that it is intrinsic.

No longer is the IDF pitted in battle in the territories mainly against terrorism, but against indigenous ideologies and ideas that flourish, not die, when countered with force. The "enemy" has been transformed from well-trained infiltrators and saboteurs, whom the IDF and security services were well-equipped to deal with, to students and schoolchildren: the weapons, from bombs and grenades to stones, placards and slogans.

Though this phenomenon has been in the making for several years, the experts feel that it has reached new dimensions and acquired a different perspective. Student unrest is no longer only responsive, with pupils and students reacting to a particular event, but endemic to the

campus and the schoolroom. Students are no longer auxiliaries to the mainstream political process in the territories, but are in the van of Palestinian nationalism.

The changes are subtle but many. Whereas in the past student uprisings were often spontaneous, today they are premeditated. Student leadership on campus is no longer random, but composed of hard-core activists who have deep ideological ties to the various branches of the Palestinian and Islamic fundamentalist movements. In the past, reluctant students had to be cajoled, forced, threatened into demonstrations; today there is competition to take the lead. And if in the past a quick show of force by Israeli troops and the presence of a couple of foreign television cameras were enough to quell a disturbance, today students welcome violence. Causes need martyrs.

IT IS CLEAR that yesterday's solutions will not help in the current situation. That this is so has become painfully clear to the Israeli commanders charged with keeping the peace in the territories. One by one the familiar methods — water hoses, rubber bullets, tear-gas, curfews, roadblocks, campus closures, detentions and fines — are failing to achieve their objectives. On the contrary: they are exactly the responses wanted by the radicals.

This is illustrated by an incident that occurred three years ago, when rock-throwing became more than just a nuisance and started to cause casualties.

The then OC Central Command, Aluf Amnon Shahak (now chief of military intelligence) and those responsible for policy in the territories imposed heavy fines on the culprits.

When the PLO started to pick up the tab, rendering the fines pointless as a punishment, the authorities decided to open a special prison for

The Friday Dry Bones

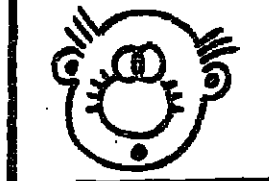
IF THERE ARE PALESTINIANS HERE WHO ARE DRIVEN TO VIOLENCE



BY THE PLIGHT OF THEIR BROTHERS IN BEIRUT



THEN MAYBE WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THEIR FRUSTRATIONS



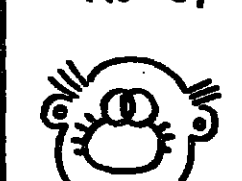
AND SOMEHOW GET THEM TO LEBANON



AND LET 'EM FIGHT THE SHI'ITES.



OR THE SUNNIS, OR THE DRUZE,



OR THE CHRISTIANS, OR THE SYRIANS,



OR WHOEVER THE PLO IS FIGHTING THIS WEEK.



rock-throwing minors. The result was, as a senior officer in the Central Command put it recently, "that we put in rock-throwers and they came out grenade-throwers."

For these youngsters prison, in many cases, was the catalyst that forged their political attitudes. Youngsters who were behind bars because of a momentary lapse, or who became involved in rock-throwing through peer pressure (which was, more often than not, the case) found themselves in close quarters with radical ideologies that took on a new credibility under the prison regimen imposed by their Israeli jailers.

IF FORCE does not work and is counter-productive, as the experience of the past few months indicates, and if there is no movement towards some political process that will defuse the situation in the territories (which at present seems unlikely), what can be done to ensure a modicum of stability and check the slide into anarchy? At best we can strive for stop-gap solutions that will provide temporary answers to speci-

fic problems.

At present, the orders to the troops faced with dealing with the situation are clear: Do not enter campuses or schools unless there is absolutely no alternative. Limit press coverage so as not to fuel "exhibitionist unrest." Use collective punishment, such as curfews, only when there is no alternative, so as to minimize local resentment. Ensure that there is no Jewish vigilante action that can only serve to exacerbate the situation.

It has also been decided to deploy "high-grade" units on active duty in the West Bank and Gaza, rather than rely on Border Police and ill-trained reservists. The hope is that better-trained men will be less hasty in using force.

BUT AGAIN, these are seen as nothing more than temporary measures that will hopefully achieve an interim goal. The security experts are acutely aware that if they are not supplemented by some political process, they will be nothing more than one more plaster on a festering sore. It is also clear that the "Jordaniza-

tion" of the West Bank and the improvement of the quality of life in the territories are not the solutions that many had hoped for. They have done nothing to quell the forces of unrest. Mere talk of an international conference, no matter how much debate the issue may generate in Israel, will not of itself fundamentally change the current realities on the West Bank and in Gaza.

This is the unfortunate truth of the situation and, like his predecessors, Barak is going to have to continue drawing a line between what he knows is logically correct, and what he is charged with doing as a soldier.

The difference, though, is that Barak's job is infinitely more difficult, given the changed nature of the problem he is dealing with. All he can possibly hope for is that he can contain the damage to a minimum until it is time to hand over the almost impossible task to his successor. One can only assume that for Barak, that time cannot come soon enough.

The writer is defence correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

READERS' LETTERS

AACI AND ELECTORAL REFORM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — We welcome the article by Eliezer Whartman yesterday setting forth the background to the issue of electoral reform now being considered by the Knesset.

We would like to clarify, however, the point concerning Aaci's involvement in the campaign scheduled for Sunday, February 22. The CCC has conducted the struggle for Electoral Reform for years. However, only in conjunction with Aaci's broad-based and extensive membership has a country-wide project become possible.

We hope that all those people interested in supporting this important issue will sign a letter to that effect at one of our 30 tables being set up from Kiryat Shomron to Eilat. NATALIE GORDON Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel

PENFRIENDS

MARGARET HANSLAW (43), of 30 Parkland Avenue, Macquarie Fields, 2564, N.S.W., Australia, is married with two children and is planning to visit Israel. She would like to have penfriends in order to learn more about our country. She is a community liaison officer in education.

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SUMMER TIME

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — The most affluent and wealthy countries in the Western world adopt Daylight Saving Time all together beginning the first Saturday night of April and ending on the last Saturday night of October (some seven months). Our acting Minister of Interior announces he has approved DST to start in mid-April (or maybe May) and end in mid-summer on August 23.

Other countries consider the health of their people as being important, as well as money saved by diminished use of fuel and electricity. Our country is apparently rich and affluent enough, and the health

of our people is of secondary importance as long as the Likud caters to the autocratic wishes of the religious pressure groups by practically eliminating DST.

During World War II, the whole world was on DST throughout the year, and in summer added a second hour. I feel Israel is still on a war footing, rightfully so, and there is good cause for extending Summer Time as much as possible.

I have always admired MK Ronni Milo and I am very disillusioned that he put political expediency ahead of our citizens' welfare.

A.L. HERSHBERG Givatayim.

TREASONABLE STATEMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I have been shocked into a state bordering on incredulity by your front-page report of February 12, according to which Aluf Amir Drori said that "the campaign surrounding Aluf Dan Shomron's appointment as next Chief of the General Staff was marked by unprecedented behaviour" (your words) "the consequences of which would prove more harmful to the country's security than the Syrians, the Iraqis and the terrorists put together" (words attributed to Aluf Drori).

That any Israeli could have made such comments is difficult to believe but that a serving officer, as Aluf

Drori is, should do so is really beyond belief. A serving officer takes an oath of loyalty to his country; he should be loyal, in word and deed, to the government of the day, but also to his military superiors, to his fellow officers and to the men and women under him.

The words attributed to Aluf Drori appear to be clearly designed to undermine the authority of the incoming CGS and to spread fear and despondency in the country, while in fact they will give comfort and encouragement to our enemies.

A. LEVINE Tel Aviv.

Thursday, February 26 (27 Shvat) is the 4th anniversary of the murder of

EMIL GRUNZWEIG

Events marking the anniversary:

JERUSALEM, Tuesday, February 24, 7:00 p.m. Memorial assembly at the murder site, opposite the Prime Minister's Office.

At 8:00 p.m., discussion at the Migdal Haknesset Hotel on "Options for Peace," with the participation of Minister Yaacov Zur, Dr. Sari Nuseibeh, Yossi Sandi MK, and panel of Israeli and Palestinian personalities.

TEL AVIV, Wednesday, February 25, 10:30 p.m. — an evening of songs and readings at the Tzavta Club — "Songs for Emil." With the participation of professional entertainers.

BEERSHEBA, Tuesday, March 3, 7:00 p.m. — "Democracy Fair" at Beit Yatziv.

At 8:00 p.m. at Beit Yatziv: discussion on "Is democracy in danger?" with the participation of Minister Ezer Weizman, and in cooperation with the Maaneh Movement.

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- HER FATHER'S DAUGHTER - WILLIAM J. COUGHLIN
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POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. FIDEL CASTRO, who gave up smoking in 1985 to boost a health campaign, says he still dreams of smoking the big cigars that became part of his image.

Castro told a gathering at the residence of the Spanish ambassador recently that he sometimes dreams about cigars but that his pledge not to smoke wins out in the end.

The 60-year old Cuban president said: "To show you what the subconscious is, the three times that I have dreamed that I am smoking, on realizing that I am violating my pledge, I throw the cigar away."

He also said the campaign against smoking has met with some success in Cuba, a nation of heavy smokers. He said that in 1985 Cubans spent \$100 million less on tobacco products than in 1984.

P.S. A 108-YEAR-OLD Buddhist nun in China's Hubei province has complained that residents think she is a "goddess" because of her longevity, and inundate her with special requests.

Zeng Kezhen of Yihe village said Buddhists from three rural counties and eight regions have gathered in her home to burn incense and candles, in hopes that their wishes will come true, the Peking Evening News said.

"This has disturbed my lifestyle, and has caused me to become ill several times. There is no way to send away these visitors," the woman was quoted as saying.

The paper called the worshippers "ignorant" for assuming Zeng is divine just because of her age.

P.S. THERE IS no limit to the commitment of the sports journalist.

Steffo Tornqvist, a Swedish reporter, vowed that he would eat 12 hats, a sweater, a coat and a pair of rain boots if Jahanghir Khan — the great Pakistani squash player who was unbeaten for more than five years — ever lost a match.

Last November, Jahanghir's mastery in world squash was finally tempered when New Zealander Ross Norman defeated him in the final of the World Cup.

Ever since, Tornqvist has been manfully munching his way every week through 300 grams of rubber and cotton disguised into palatable concoctions by understanding chefs in Stockholm restaurants.

He is reported to have five kilos to go. But he says he will have his revenge. "Jahanghir is expected to play in Sweden next month, and I'll make a point of taking him out to dinner." YK

P.S. THE MARQUESS OF Hertford was fined £10,000 recently for plowing up a historic Roman ruin.

Hertford told the judge, "I'll send you a cheque."

Hertford admitted violating Britain's Ancient Monuments and Archeology Act by damaging the remains of the Roman settlement on his 3,000-acre farming estate near Stratford-upon-Avon in central England in July 1985.

Hertford told the court that he had understood from the department of the environment that "normal farming activities, and ploughing is the most normal one can think of, were all right."

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